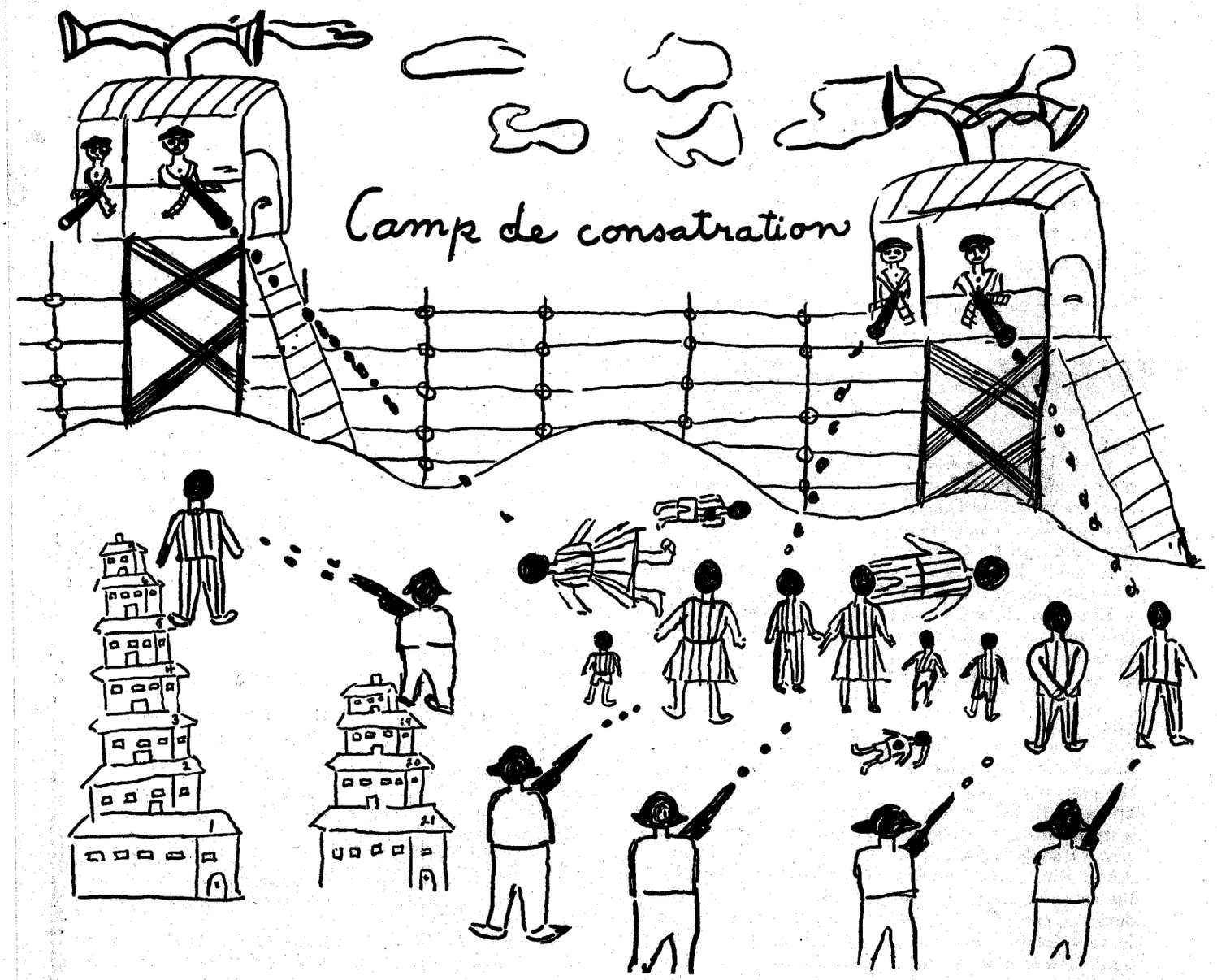
politics

May, 1946 **35¢**



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Whither "politics"?

Sir:

When I read the first issue of POLITICS, I thought that the periodical might have developed into a real medium for a realistic Marxian analysis of modern problems. I thought it was going to keep its eyes on the social movement, as Marx did, and try to interpret it by its best lights. Instead, it is rapidly becoming a scholastic instrument for the negative criticism of Marx and Soviet society. It is beating its head out on dialectics and philosophy, instead of going on creatively and realistically from where the great socialist thinkers left off.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALA.; FEB. 26 O. COX

Sir:

Enclosed is a check for packages. . . . We are discontinuing our subscription to POLITICS since it no longer serves the function, in our minds, which it originally served. We are severely disappointed in its decline intellectually. From a speculative, far-roving, hyper-critical (and destructive purely) analytic journal, it has become quasi-religious, obsessed with private political morality, and anarchistic in the extreme. POLITICS used to be destructive and served a function as such, almost exclusively it is true for radical literary intellectuals, but very definitely it served a real need. Now it is becoming constructive, and since there is no possible "good" course of action politically in our time, it refers back to man's more decent traits for a basis for action—omitting a just accounting for his destructive instincts—and becomes in the process mystical. The articles in the "New Roads" series, and others like them, have nothing to do with the world in which any sort of politics goes on—the world I try to live in. Join the Church; it has the answers tailor-made—for YOU.

BERKELEY, CALIF.; FEB. 25 GEORGE P. ELLIOTT

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Elliott and I had a discussion on the nature and function of POLITICS *in the September, 1944, issue. His main objection then was to our "negativism." He has apparently now come to see the value of this approach. Perhaps he will also come to see the value of the kind of constructivism some of us are working toward. In this hope, and because no editor likes to lose a reader who reacts seriously to his magazine, we are extending his sub, free, for 6 months.*

Sir:

I am feeling apologetic to those half dozen of my most highly regarded friends to whom I sent a gift subscription for POLITICS for Christmas. The constant tedious and academic discussions of the less interesting aspects of Socialism are far less interesting and informative than last year's examination of certain national and international political occurrences which you interpreted with such an unregimented point of view.

We are hoping for a quick return to the original policy—lest you become just another "obscure leftist magazine" with little to interest the non-haggling, non-Socialist.

NEW YORK CITY; FEB. 28 DOROTHY HOWLAND

Sir:

I think I know what you are doing in POLITICS. It bores me stiff but you probably have to do this. However, some other stuff so interesting, stimulating and readable peeps out every now and then that I resent the space given to moral aridities and other dessicated matter.

FALLS CHURCH, VA.; APRIL 17 T. SWANN HARDING

Sir:

For the past several years a number of us who are active in unions have been conducting discussion meetings for the purpose of getting a better understanding of what is going on in the world and what union members ought to do about it. Realizing the shortcomings of the labor movement's official slant on the war, political action, capitalist reforms, etc., we invited representatives from other groups to present their views. We exchanged ideas with professors,

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social workers, liberals from government. We soon discovered something: The average run of self-styled progressives have a pronounced anti-Marxian bias, notwithstanding that they know extremely little about Marxism and that little is often erroneous. Their understanding of Marx has been derived from second hand sources—usually from Marx critics of the sort long ago exposed by Louis Boudin in his *Theoretical System*.

Now none of us is a dogmatic Marxist in the sense of believing that Marx spoke the final word on economics or anything else. We welcome criticism if it is well founded, and especially if it provides a better insight into the questions we want to know more about. We have listened patiently and courteously to people who presume to "show where Marx was all wet" and the more we listened the less impressed we became. It was only necessary to ask a few simple questions to have those people expose their ignorance of the most elementary principles of Marxian theory.

No wonder that when the first issue of POLITICS reached us in 1944 we took to it with a great deal of enthusiasm. Here was a non-sectarian radical magazine, critical and readable, declaring that its ". . . political tendency will be democratic socialist. Its predominant intellectual approach will be Marxist in the sense of a method of analysis, not of a body of dogma." Here at last was the kind of magazine we had always felt the need for, a publication which would come to grips with current events and evaluate them in a fearless, responsible, and thorough manner. Alas. Two years have gone by and from our standpoint the magazine has become a dismal flop. We think the editor is a brilliant journalist, but a sloppy thinker. Increasingly the stuff he prints stinks, particularly the anti-Marxian balderdash. If his original approach was Marxist, he has certainly come a long way—in a decidedly reactionary direction. He prides himself on constantly changing his mind and avows that he will continue to do so. Well, one's mind can change for better or worse—and Macdonald's seems to us to be getting worse all the time. Some of his contributors have also changed their minds—and how! Thus one of them once belonged to an outfit which identified Marxism with Bolshevism, and because Bolshevist Russia evolved into a frightful tyranny (as, using the Marxian critique more than twenty years ago, Karl Kautsky foresaw that it would) this former Bolshevik now wants us to go back to Jesus, to the "personalist mystique of vital religion."

The philosophic anarchist theorizing which fills pages of POLITICS may provide pleasing intellectual exercise for people with no more serious purpose to occupy them, but such writing only adds to the appalling confusion of these sorely troubled times. Instead of attempting to show where Marx was wrong in any of his fundamental analyses, POLITICS does a job on him because he did not explain what could have happened if so and such had taken place instead of what did occur. Or the readers are told that Marx should have drawn his concepts of ethics from Absolutes rather than from material existence. In other words, Marx is censured for not doing what the Utopians did. The plain fact is that instead of titillating his mind with absolutist abstractions, Marx concentrated his studies on the actual experiences of mankind. In this connection it may be well to recall Lenin's observation that every period of reaction sees erstwhile Marxists come to the conclusion that progress is incompatible with materialism and accordingly give themselves up to idealistic speculations.

The best thing that can be said about such speculations is that the only people who get excited about them are a handful of intellectuals. And those people could learn much more about human conduct by working in a factory than they can by flirting with Absolutes and the Individual Conscience. They could learn, for example, how man tends to behave more ethically toward his fellows when he is compelled by material circumstances to organize into unions for mutual protection. They could observe how race prejudice often gives way slowly but surely to tolerance, and how men who cringed before the boss prior to having a union, hold up their heads and assume a degree of human dignity once they are sure of strong union protection. And unions by their very nature can only effect surface changes; they are not designed to alter basic property relations. If, under certain conditions, human behaviour can be altered for the better within the framework of a society permeated by the mores of grab and hold, it should not require much imagination to visualize what ethical improvement would result from the abolition of all exploitative relationships which divide man against himself.

Consistency has never been a virtue of Marx critics, including those who write for POLITICS. Thus in one issue we read: "Whenever we examine without prejudice the scientific side of Marxism, we find that it is not based on simple and veritable statements, but on generalizations derived essentially from a peculiar system of philosophy, the philosophy of Hegel." In another issue Marx is taken to task for not deriving his ethical ideas from something called Abstract Justice. Vernon Venable, in his excellent little volume, *Human Nature—the Marxian View*, explains why Marx held that those who preoccupy themselves with idealistic ethics are reactionary. This book, by the way, supplies a well documented and definitive answer to those who contend that Marx derived his principles from the Hegelian hocus pocus.

The author of the *Responsibility of Peoples* would do well to ponder the responsibility of writers. As one who professes to be a serious writer on political and social affairs, he certainly owes it to himself and to his readers to overcome his unfortunate habit of making snap generalizations. For instance, commenting on the recent strikes, he decided that ". . . the State is on the side of the strikers." This bit of wisdom is worthy of a college professor. Because the GM strike was not accompanied by back-to-work movements, police brutality, and the use of state troops, Macdonald thinks that the government has ceased to be the coercive instrument of private and monopoly capital and is now the ally of labor. The truth, as everybody except Macdonald knows, is that in the case of GM the U. S. Treasury is prepared to kick in up to a maximum of $160,000,000 to make sure that the corporation's profits do not fall below $220,800,000 for the year. At the same time the government through its unemployment compensation commission denied the workers unemployment benefits while they were on strike. Consequently the corporation had only to sit tight and wait until the workers used up their savings. The fact that GM workers, barely ten years organized, maintained their solidarity and morale for over 100 days was as unexpected as it was inspiring. But to Macdonald only "Old Believers in the class struggle doctrine" could derive any inspiration from the GM strike.

If his magazine is any indication, Macdonald believes less and less in the class struggle, perhaps because he chooses to remain more and more aloof from it. And such aloofness is inexcusable in a writer purporting to specialize in politics. One does not have to walk picket lines and fight scabs to keep in touch with the class struggle. Marx, also a writer who specialized in politics, made it his business to keep closely informed about the significant struggles of his day. Furthermore he felt duty bound to make a deep study of whatever he was writing about before he allowed his

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conclusions to appear in print. So alerted was Marx to what was taking place in the labor movement that when Citizen Weston, influenced by Proudhon (another one of POLITICS' heroes) propagated among the English workers the theory that labor could gain nothing by forming unions and struggling for higher wages, Marx annihilated his influence by coming out with *Value, Price and Profit*, a brochure which even some of his latter-day critics could read with profit.

Both Marx and Engels took their responsibility as political writers too seriously to indulge in "bohemian incantation" and on several occasions they expressed their contempt for those radicals who produce half-digested ideas just for the sake of appearing different.

Occasionally Macdonald turns out some commendable work, of which two outstanding examples are *Responsibility of Peoples* and *Shall Europe Starve?* These surveys render a deadly indictment of a social order slipping into barbarism, and the author is to be highly congratulated for producing them. Actually, its hard to believe that the man who wrote those searing documents of social protest is the same guy who writes so much drivel and selects such anti-Marxist tripe for POLITICS.

DETROIT, MICH.; APRIL 24 FRANK MARQUART

Reply By The Editor

First, to answer some specific points in Frank Marquart's letter:

(1) That Marxism is far superior to the usual American progressive ideology is conceded, and also that unions produce good effects on their members and that "the abolition of all exploitative relationships" would result in ethical improvements. The question is, however, whether we cannot and *must* not go beyond these truisms.

(2) "The only people who get excited about them [speculations about materialism and progress] are a handful of intellectuals." Aside from the fact that such speculations deal with the very bases of Marxist and progressive thinking and so might be granted some importance even in trade union circles, Marquart should wake up to the Fact of Life that, in the USA at least, "only a handful of intellectuals" (and that includes himself) ever get excited about any idea or ideal at all.

(3) I did not say the government "is now the ally of labor." I said that in the recent strikes the Truman Administration, without in any way wanting to do so or intending to do so, found itself compelled to intervene on the side of labor, as against 1919 and 1937 when it was on the other side. I gave a lot of data to demonstrate this peculiar notion. As for the government's financial policies helping GM in the strike, this is true but irrelevant since I don't think Marquart can show that these policies, which were adopted long before the strike, were designed to help GM in a strike situation; they were adopted, and by Congress rather than the Administration, to increase corporation profits; it is true they also had the effect of making corporations better able to withstand postwar strikes, but this was a fortuitous rather than a calculated effect. If I am wrong, I hope Marquart will correct me. The main point of my article—and I dwell on it because the question is of first importance for socialists—was that the strikes showed that American trade unions have achieved "a fatal combination of strength as institutions of the status quo and weakness as organs of working class rebellion." It is humanly understandable that Marquart, who has worked for years selflessly and intelligently in the trade union movement, should be irritated by such a hypothesis. What I do resent, however, is his implication that it gives me any pleasure to be driven to it.

(4) I am not aloof from the class struggle. The class struggle is aloof from me. All of us, including Marquart, have been looking for this much-advertised class struggle, but, except for a brief and delusive spell in 1937, we have not found it. I'd be delighted to print an article by Marquart or any one else showing just how the actual evolution of the CIO or AFL is taking us any closer to socialism.

(5) What Marquart contemptuously terms "philosophic anarchist theorizing" seems to me one of the most serious tasks before us today, and also a most promising way out of "the confusion of these sorely troubled times." What is attractive about anarchism today, as against Marxism, is its hard-headedness and realism.

Now, to reply to the letters in general. To begin with, they apparently represent the reactions of a sizable segment of readers to the "New Roads" series. It is true that critics always tend to be more vocal than applauders. But enough similar objections have been made by word of mouth, and in other letters not here published, to establish a certain general trend. It seems obligatory to answer them, or at least to try to explain what's going on around here.

There's no point in my defending the *quality* of the articles. They may or may not be as boring and incompetent as the critics claim. Naturally, I don't think they are, or I shouldn't have printed them. But it would be silly for an editor to write an article to demonstrate that other articles he and his contributors have written are in fact competent and interesting.

Besides their objections to the quality of the articles, however, the critics also react strongly against their content and tendency; and here some discussion may be useful.

What seems to the "New Roads" writers the most important problem for contemporary socialists—how to relate their political values to an ethical basis—appears to the critics to be meaningless. Such adjectives as "mystical," "unrealistic" and "academic" are used. Evidently the problem of ethical values has no more existence for them than it did for Marx, who tried (and in my opinion failed) to show that values are merely a function of man's historical environment, without any independent, absolute existence of their own. The judgment is further made, also following Marx, that such a concern with moral absolutes is, to the extent it means anything, politically reactionary. If one accepts the Marxist approach, then it obviously is. But the question is precisely whether one should, *as a socialist*, accept Marx's "scientific socialism." I italicize "*as a socialist*" because most of the above letters assume that to reject historical materialism as a basis for socialism is to go over to the enemy—"Join the Church!" says Elliott. (The intolerance and violence with which this is asserted, by the way, rather comically reveals an unconscious religiosity on their part.) It would be nice, and would certainly promote fruitful discussion, if the scientific socialists could admit, if only hypothetically, that socialism *can* have an ethical base, as it did before Marx and as it always has had to a large extent with the anarchists. It doesn't answer our arguments, and certainly doesn't promote that fraternity which is a chief aim of socialism, simply to excommunicate heretics in the James T. Farrell manner. The "New Roads" articles were written by a number of people who, quite independently of each other, came to the conclusion that the socialist movement is in a serious crisis and have tried to find some way out of the impasse. It is understandable that those who don't agree that socialist doctrine is in crisis should be impatient with philosophical discourses which try to meet a

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problem they don't see as real. But impatience is a poor basis for effective argument. It is tempting to brush aside ideas one disagrees with by assuming they proceed simply from frivolity or perversity—Marquart's "radicals who produce half-digested ideas just for the sake of appearing different." This method, however, is somewhat beside the point. The most elementary rule of thinking—scientific thinking, if you please—is that the source and motivation of an observation has nothing to do with its truth or falsity.

I admit I did not expect the volume and violence of this hostile reaction. Apparently, I underestimated the deep hold which Marx's attempt to give socialism a scientific basis has gained even among the readers of a magazine which has always been rather cavalier in its treatment of Marxist doctrine. (It's not only the Marxists who object, either; the pragmatic turn of the American mentality has always made us overestimate the possibilities of scientific method, which is one reason John Dewey is our greatest living philosopher.)

POLITICS, the critics say, has changed for the worse of late both in contents and in ideology. Contents: it has gone in more for general speculative articles and less for comment on current events. Ideology: its "predominant intellectual approach" was stated in the first issue to be Marxist; this has been abandoned.

The first point is true enough, and I would even agree that, from the standpoint of a desirable norm, too much philosophical (or, if the critics prefer, pseudo-philosophical) material and not enough journalistic comment has appeared in recent issues. I myself am beginning to feel a little fatigued by the rarefied atmosphere of the magazine of late. I hope we can get back to more concrete and current matters now that a certain general position has been explored and to some extent defined. The recent imbalance of the magazine, however, I think was justified by the importance of the problem being discussed. For the only way one can rethink one's basic assumptions is to meet the issue on its own ground, which is an abstract, theoretical and even somewhat metaphysical one. Thinking about general principles is difficult for most people, including myself; and if one happens to believe—as the Marxians and Deweyans do—that the traditional Progressive principles are still valid and hence in no need of such basic questioning, then it must indeed be painful to read this kind of article. (The above letters might be interpreted partly as shrieks from the torture-chamber.) However, after a year and a half of publishing POLITICS, it seemed to me that the job had to be done, the problem faced, the i's dotted and the t's crossed. This leads to the second point: the abandonment of Marxism.

The longing of the critics for the time when POLITICS was a sound and realistic magazine of a Marxian character is, like most such yearnings for the Good Old Days, more nostalgic than accurate. The fact is, as a casual review of our back issues will show, that the non-Marxian approach which is now explicitly formulated has been predominant from the beginning and has largely given the magazine whatever distinctive character it has. Certainly a Marxist journal might be expected to devote a good deal of attention to economic questions and to the labor movement. But the only long economic article we have ever printed was Walter J. Oakes' piece in the first issue, and even this was unMarxian in its conclusions. We have only printed two long articles on the labor movement, both by Daniel Bell. On the other hand, most of our major articles have almost all been of a most unMarxian nature: as, Mill's "The Powerless People," Bettelheim's "Behavior in Extreme Situations," Chiaromonte's "Croce and Italian Liberalism," Weil's "The Iliad, or the Poem of Force," and my own "The Responsibility of Peoples." There is another important category of articles which indeed fits into the Marxian pattern: journalistic survey-pieces like Peter Meyer's "The USSR—a New Society," Louis Clair's "The Big Three Against Europe" and my own series on Greece. These are certainly valuable, and will naturally continue to appear.* But they have not been so prominent in our editorial "formula" as the critics think. Again: the series on "War as an Institution" was thoroughly unMarxian in its approach. And then there is Tucci. . . .

In short, the main tendency of POLITICS has always been non-Marxist. This is odd, considering that the first issue defined the magazine's "predominant intellectual approach" as Marxist, and that I myself was then if not, thank God, a "real Marxist" in James T. Farrell's sense of the term, certainly more of a Marxist than anything else. What happened was simply that the month-by-month experience of editing a magazine which tried to go deeper than the conventional socialist pieties in its analysis and to give some sense of the human horror of the war period—that this experience led me insensibly away from Marxism. The kind of stuff I want to print, with unhackneyed ideas and some emotional force, just doesn't seem to be produced by Marxists today.

Nor did the attempts to get discussion started along conventional Marxist lines work out. For example, our original prospectus announced a regular coverage of the labor movement. But, with the exception of Frank Marquart himself, to whom all thanks, it proved impossible to get this kind of material from people in the movement. Thus we sent out proofs of Dan Bell's first article—a broad critique of basic CIO policy—to some 20 representative people in the trade unions (not the big shots, but various younger and more intelligent functionaries known to us in one way or another). We invited comment, criticism, rebuttal; we got exactly two brief responses. There just isn't anybody much in the labor movement interested in discussing the kind of basic questions POLITICS is interested in. (Cf. the recently launched *Labor and Nation* for confirmation.) Furthermore, on the issue which POLITICS was most concerned with, the war, the labor movement was utterly "respectable" and hence alien. On the other hand, the relatively small pacifist movement became increasingly interesting and significant editorially, as the brute fact of war itself became more and more the axis of the magazine. So that, long before the "New Roads" series, POLITICS was in the absurd position, from a Marxist point of view, of devoting more space to the ideas and acts of the Conscientious Objectors than to those of the whole U. S. labor movement.

The bursting of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima was thus merely the catalyst which precipitated, in my own thinking, a reaction which my experience in editing POLITICS had long prepared, a reaction against Marxism and scientific socialism. The front-page editorial which I threw into the August issue at the last moment was the first big crack in the shell of Marxism, which the thrust of the magazine's living growth had already displaced. That it took the atomic bomb to make this crack reflects no credit on my thinking; but then we Americans seem to be hopelessly pragmatic even when we reach non-pragmatic conclusions.

*Just as, it should—but won't—go without saying, will articles explicitly expounding Marxist ideas, like Korsch's in this issue and Laurat's and Pannekoek's in the next. To print material for its interest, regardless of ideological tendency, will continue to be our editorial policy—for practical as well as principled reasons.

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How much has POLITICS changed? Whither is it going? The second question I cannot answer with any certainty. But the magazine's course up to now, as described above, may offer some clue. Generally, I think it accurate to say that none of the aims of the magazine, as originally announced in the February, 1944, issue, have been abandoned. If the general tendency of the magazine is no longer Marxist, that is precisely because experience and reflection convinced me that Marxism today is an obstacle, not a help, in the attainment of those aims.

Let me conclude by reprinting, in full, the statement on "Aims and Editorial Policies" which appeared in the first issue. It runs as follows:

In more concrete terms, the aim of POLITICS will be:

- to create a center of consciousness on the Left, welcoming all varieties of radical thought.
- to seek out the long-range trends in the welter of daily phenomena. Most political writing today is superficial because it limits "politics" too narrowly to the policies of certain parties and leaders, and because it concerns itself too largely with the immediate future, keeping basic principles in camphor, for use only on state occasions. POLITICS will try (1) to broaden political comment so as to include all kinds of social, technological, cultural and psychological factors; and (2) to measure month-to-month developments with the yardstick of basic values.
- to print work by younger, relatively unknown American intellectuals—economists, sociologists, critics, journalists, trade union and Government experts; and by those many leftist refugees who can produce informed analysis of European events but at present have no satisfactory means of communication with advanced American opinion.
- to consider art, music, literature as social and historical phenomena; to pay special attention to that vast "popular culture" so strangely neglected hitherto by American intellectuals.

Although POLITICS will not have a "line" on specific political issues, it will have an editorial policy. The assumption will be that its readers and contributors are basically critical of existing institutions and feel the necessity for radical change. The magazine's political tendency will be democratic socialist. Its predominant intellectual approach will be Marxist, in the sense of a method of analysis, not of a body of dogma. (These terms, of course, mean different things to different people. Not the least important task of the magazine will be precisely to elucidate these different meanings.) It will be partisan to those on the bottom of present-day society—the Negroes, the colonial peoples, and the vast majority of common people everywhere, including the Soviet Union. Its motto might well be Marx's words: "To be radical is to grasp the matter by the root. Now the root for mankind is man himself."

The editor has certain definite political ideas of his own. These opinions will no doubt influence his editorial judgment. His endeavor, however, will be to print material primarily for the new light it throws on the world and only secondarily for its political tendency.

A BAD CASE OF BOURGEOIS SUBJECTIVISM

A foreign doctor, known for his sympathy with communism, was permitted not long ago to visit Poland. After his return home he was, it is reported, "almost a nervous wreck", so shocked was he by the condition of the Polish people. . . . "I know that I am not objective," he said, "but nobody can explain to me why it is necessary first of all to establish concentration camps, to create special police organizations, and afterwards, if at all, look after the health of the people."

—"Ann Su Cardwell's Letter", Nov. 15, 1945.

THE COMMUNISTS AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

TWO recent developments, I think, are more significant than most people realize. This is not surprising, since they have to do with Communist policy, and when this is involved there is usually equal disingenuousness shown by those "for" and by those "against."

The first has to do with Trieste. From the beginning, the Italian Communists were embarrassed by this affair: if they came out for an Italian Trieste, they would be supporting a demand of Anglo-American plutocracy against Soviet Russia, while if they favored yielding Trieste to Yugoslavia, they would alienate their own chauvinistic countrymen (today as numerous and rabid as they ever were under Mussolini) and would give a major talking-point to those who claimed that "the CP can never be a patriotic party." After much hesitation, they chose the first alternative.

What interests me here is not this decision itself (and still less its rightness or wrongness, since the Trieste issue is one of many today in which both sides seem equally wrong) but the repercussions which this policy has had among the Communists of other countries. The Yugoslav Communists, naturally, disagree with it; but what is much more significant is that so do the French Communists, who are not directly concerned. It is true that Magnien in *L'Humanité* speaks only of the Italian *government* and does not mention the Italian CP. But the last issue of the organ of the Central Committee of the French CP, *Les Cahiers du Communisme*, contains an article by a Yugoslav Communist, Stepan Mitrovich, modestly titled, "Some Fundamental Remarks on the Question of Trieste." Comrade Mitrovich notes, apropos the Italian CP, that "petty-bourgeois forces, suckled on chauvinism, exert strong pressure on the present heads of the Italian working-class movement. In this pressure, in the attraction exercised by petty-bourgeois forces, may be found the origin of all the theoretical and political deviations and all the erroneous ideas of the Italian working-class movement today."

Les Cahiers du Communisme is not an open forum, where any militant can write what he pleases; Comrade Mitrovich's article, though he himself is a Yugoslav, undoubtedly expresses the opinion of the chiefs of the French CP; this attack comes not from Belgrade but from Paris. There are other matters, furthermore, on which the French and the Italian CP's disagree: notably certain "deviations" by the latter towards the Christian-Democrats and towards Catholicism in general. These stem from the subtle distinction made by Togliatti, head of the Italian CP, between "historical materialism" and "philosophical materialism." These distinctions are strangely like those which Leon Blum in France has evolved to justify his "mystic turn" and his alliance with the MRP. The French Communists, whom the situation of the moment places in opposition to both the Blum socialists and the MRP Catholics, are piously shocked to see such "opportunist" leanings crop up among their Italian comrades.

Here is, then, the first example of a conflict between the Communist Parties of two countries. Given the ever greater importance which the "national question" is assuming in Communist circles, this disagreement can hardly be expected to moderate as time passes. How can one be nationalist and internationalist at the same time? Here is the same dilemma, apparently, on whose horns the Second International died.

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THE second instance is of the same kind, and still more significant. As every one knows, since the liberation of France, the government—first of DeGaulle and now of Gouin—has insisted that the Ruhr be detached from Germany. To this demand, Britain and the USA are hostile, while Russia avoids any commitment.

The line-up on this issue inside France is as follows. The MRP, whose leader, Bidault, is Foreign Minister, is strongly for the government's policy. The Socialists, closely linked with the Laborites in Britain, are (less vigorously) against the policy, and favor—if Gouin's recent Strassburg speech and certain articles in *Le Populaire* are to be treated as indications—the British proposal: namely, a purely *economic* control of the Ruhr by the Allies (which is a diplomatic way of saying its actual reintegration into Germany). The British labor government sent emissaries to sound out Paris on the matter of an Anglo-French alliance in return for France's giving up her demand for detaching the Ruhr. But a Ministerial Council held early in April reaffirmed the old policy, and shortly afterwards Bidault in a speech at Lille once more demanded the *political* separation of the Ruhr from Germany. Finally, there are the Communists. They backed up the MRP in the Ministerial Council on the Ruhr. And on the very day that Bidault spoke at Lille, the CP chief, Duclos, also spoke at Montpellier, and even more strongly than Bidault rebuffed the British overtures as another attempt by Perfidious Albion to get France into an alliance at the price of France's own security. The Ruhr must be "internationalized," he insisted.

The German Communists, like their French comrades, also take a nationalistic line: they object violently to the "internationalization" of the Ruhr. So, by the way, do both the pro-Russian and the anti-Russian wings of the German Social Democrats. Now if the German Communists and Social Democrats take such a position, in the Russian as well as in the British zone, we may assume that *both* powers, for once, agree on something: namely, that, *inside Germany*, their purposes will be served by encouraging resistance to the detaching of the Ruhr. It would appear that Britain and Russia, looking ahead to World War III, are competing for the support of the German masses—and what better way to get the adherence of a people subjected to a decade of Nazism than by playing up to nationalistic emotions? The British press is quite blunt about it. "A Ruhr seething with resentment," writes *The Economist*, ". . . would destroy all hope of establishing a Social-Democratic regime in Germany." And *The Manchester Guardian* notes that the problem is how "to encourage the German Social Democrats themselves to neutralize certain influences from the East."

The Soviet game is much subtler and more complex. After M. Alphand's trip to Moscow in December, the Russians did not formally reject the French proposals about the Ruhr. They even suggested that they would agree to internationalization—but only on condition that Russia herself could have effective political, economic *and military* control over the area. Thus Russia *formally* supported the claims of the French CP, while *practically* insuring, by attaching impossible conditions, that Britain and America would reject her proposal, to the gratification of the German CP.

IN the light of the above, what becomes of the Communist International? Or, more precisely—since the International is no more—can these conflicts between various Communist parties be reconciled with the idea that such parties get their orders from Moscow? Must we conclude that, as the Communists claim, these orders exist only in the minds of red-baiters? That the Communist parties are really independent of Moscow, that they are sincerely nationalistic?

Personally, I don't know whether the French, German, Italian or American Communist parties get orders or funds from Moscow. On the whole, I suspect this charge has been exaggerated. But I think it can be shown that the conflicting policies we have just analyzed are useful to Russia's imperialistic interests, whether they were dictated from Moscow or not.

If the Third International still were a historical reality, obviously these clashes between its national sections would have to be resolved lest it perish as the Second International did in the flames of the embattled patriotisms of World War I. But since in actuality the International is now represented by only one single nation, Russia, which finds herself in conflict with other great powers, it is clear that the policies of this nation can vary greatly from one country to another. Thus, for example, the British in Poland, Bulgaria and Rumania play the role of the defenders of democracy and the rights of small nations against Soviet imperialism; but they wear quite another costume in Spain and Greece.

So, too, the Russian game is to foment nationalist feelings in both France *and* Germany, Italy *and* Yugoslavia. For the issues will not be decided anyway by these minor powers: Trieste, the Ruhr, and all other "questions" of this kind will be unilaterally decided by the Big Three regardless of what the small fry do or want. It makes little difference, therefore, that Togliatti's line on Trieste does not coincide with the Kremlin's, or that Duclos and Thorez are not in step with Moscow on the Ruhr question. That doesn't bother Russia at all. But it does bother Britain that strong Communist parties are taking part in the French and Italian governments. It was not for any Marxist reasons that Togliatti, returning from Moscow in September, 1943, bluntly ordered his amazed comrades to enter the reactionary Badoglio government. It was because the British and the Americans already had "their" men in that government, and Russia could not afford to stay out in the cold any longer. To worry about ideological scruples in such a matter, or to regulate the policy of the Italian CP by the social and economic situation in *Italy* (a third-rate power, after all!)—that would have been positively archaic. Every one today, including above all Stalin, is a "realist" after the fashion of Hitler, who conceived of politics always on the plane of world power relations.

The Communist nationalism of our era, then, is deduced with quasi-mathematical logic from the necessities of international power politics.

Throughout Europe, the Communists and the "left" parties take Moscow's part against the "right" groupings—Socialists, Social Democrats, liberals, peasant movements, Catholics—who align themselves with the Anglo-American bloc. In each country, the contending sides march to battle under identical banners, namely, the national colors. Each tries to outdo the other in patriotic frenzy. But the banners are camouflage, and what they hide are the real devices on the contestants' arms: the symbols of the two mighty power-blocs that are struggling for world mastery.

Time was when the responsibility for preventing the unity of Europe could be justly laid at England's door. Today it is all three of the big powers who bear this responsibility. For each of them does everything possible to exacerbate nationalistic feelings and provoke trouble be-

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tween the peoples of Europe. Divide and rule is the Kremlin's motto, and not only the Kremlin's.

PARIS, APRIL 15 A.B.C.

Invitation to Violence

A Note on British Policy in Palestine

UNTIL recently Jewish violence in Palestine was sporadic and unplanned, but in 1945 it became more frequent and highly organized. Raids that would make excellent studies in military textbooks on "small actions" have been carried out by bands of Jewish men and women who are obviously skilled in the use of weapons and tactically trained by experienced leaders.

The British have for years claimed that to yield to Jewish demands for unrestricted immigration into Palestine would set off an Arab rebellion that could not be controlled. The Jewish terrorists may not accept this explanation but they can obviously understand it. They probably conclude that if the British fear Arab rebellion; they must be made also to fear Jewish rebellion; this would balance the scales. The Jewish community in Palestine has tried all methods of persuasion to gain its ends. Seeing these methods fail in turn, and seeing the method of force prevailing, some groups of Jews have now turned to open warfare.

The history of British relations with the Arabs between the two wars is a direct invitation to violence on the part of any people seeking a greater degree of independence. Apparently Great Britain considers force and violence to be the measure for self-government, for it has been on this basis that it has relinquished more and more of its direct control over the Arab states.

The problem of criteria for independence has received surprisingly little attention from persons concerned with international affairs and world government, even after the establishment of the mandates system in 1920. It was not until 1929 that the League of Nations woke up to the realization that some kind of criteria of capacity for self-government would have to be announced if the mandated countries (especially Palestine, Iraq, and Syria) were to be convinced that the Powers seriously considered granting them independence some day. In that year, then, the League Council asked the Permanent Mandates Commission for a list of such criteria.

This request nettled the Commission, since it was unprepared to comply with it in the short time allotted. In a statement hastily put together, the Commission listed a series of criteria which no doubt reflected the views of most persons who had given the matter any thought. A prospective independent state, it was decided, must be able to 1) carry out the traditional functions of government with stability, 2) maintain its political independence and territorial integrity (this one is a little too strict, especially in view of European history since 1936), 3) maintain peace within its realm, 4) provide uniform law and justice for its people, 5) protect its minorities, and 6) guarantee civil liberties.

In speeches and writings most statesmen and colonial administrators agreed with these noble sentiments. Great Britain's international experts especially indulged in learned discussions of matters related to this one, and spoke seriously (as they still do) of the British responsibility in developing a capacity for self-government among the people of its "dependent areas." But the conduct of the Empire was in stark contrast to these professions of duty.

While it is not true that all British concessions to Arab self-government came as the result of violence which proved too troublesome to suppress, the most important gains the Arabs made were in fact owing to their demonstrations, propaganda campaigns, strikes, riots and rebellions in Egypt, Iraq and Palestine.

In 1922 Great Britain unilaterally abrogated its protectorate over Egypt. For more than two years the Egyptians had committed murder, sabotage and other violent acts. In 1920 they had demanded the end of the protectorate, but Britain had ignored their wish. In 1922, after renewed violence, General Allenby, then Commander-in-Chief of British forces, warned his government that refusal to declare the end of the protectorate might precipitate revolution. At this point His Majesty's Government issued its unilateral decree.

Egypt was not able materially to expand its area of independence until 1936, when an Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed which provided for the end of British occupation, an exchange of ambassadors, the confinement of British forces to a specified part of the Suez Canal zone, and a quick end to the special privileges of foreign countries in Egypt. On this occasion the criterion the British applied again had nothing to do with those lofty principles advanced by their spokesmen or by the Permanent Mandates Commission. Britain simply feared further Italian penetration into Africa through Ethiopia, and wanted to gain the support, or at least the neutrality, of Egypt. On their part the Egyptians were put into a mood of compromise by the same fear of Fascist aggression. After all, they had already made some progress in winning independence from the British; if the Italians stepped in they should have to begin all over again.

The case of Iraq is slightly different. This country was designated a Class A mandate in May of 1920, to be guided (it was not too clear just where) by Great Britain. Immediately revolt broke out. In a month, Britain assured Iraq (after a consideration of reasonable criteria for self-government?) that it would be an independent state, and later installed Feisal, for whom the Iraqis had demonstrated their preference, as King. In 1922 Feisal and the British (whose position was not very clear, since it had no directive from the League of Nations, the official guardian of the mandated areas) negotiated a treaty which two years later the League accepted, instead of a mandate, as the document defining the three-cornered relations among Iraq, Britain and the League itself.

Thus Iraq never recognized the mandate announced for it, was never officially considered a country in need of the "tutelage" of a more "advanced" state, and enjoyed more independence under its treaty relations with Great Britain than was planned for it under the mandate that never went into effect. The Iraqis won this measure of independence because by their use of force and violence in 1919-20 they demonstrated that they were willing to cause a lot of trouble to get what they wanted. At that moment, just after a long war and with the British people sick of far-off involvements, the Empire was not prepared to resist force with force; it found conciliation more suitable.

In Palestine the first important British concession to Arab violence came in 1922. The Arabs in 1921 had created frequent disturbances in protest against Jewish immigration. Winston Churchill, then Colonial Secretary, issued a statement (subsequently known as the Churchill Memorandum) assuring the Arabs that the Balfour Declaration meant only that a Jewish home would be founded in Palestine, not that all of Palestine would become a Jewish home.

Many concessions to Arab violence or threats of violence succeeded this one. In 1934, for example, Great Britain

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drastically cut the number of immigration permits allotted to the Jewish Agency. This restriction followed an intensive Arab campaign late in 1933 which included newspaper drives, demonstrations and a short general strike accompanied by rioting.

For our final example, consider the White Paper of 1939, which limited to 75,000 the number of Jews to be admitted during the next five years, and required Arab consent to any subsequent immigration. It is generally said that the British yielded to the Arabs at that time in order to gain their support or neutrality in the world war that was clearly foreseen by the spring of 1939. While this may be true, it is also a fact that in 1938 the Arabs perpetrated some of the most extensive acts of terror Palestine had seen. Their violence bordered on open rebellion. The British found it necessary to increase their military strength in the Holy Land, adding some infantry battalions, two cavalry regiments and other units, which brought the number of troops up to almost 20,000.

It is not difficult to see that desperate Jews considering this history can easily conclude that their next step is violence on a grand scale. Although not likely to be successful in the present state of international relations, and because of the lack of support by world Jewry, this campaign of violence at least indicates in a striking way the depth of feeling among some Palestine Jews. British policy has shown them the road to terrorism.

In pointing out that Britain has yielded mainly to violence in the Middle East, we are *not* arguing that the concessions it has made to Egypt, Iraq and the Palestine Arabs should or should not have been made on other grounds, before the stage of violence was reached. We are merely indicating the gap betwen pronouncement and policy. This gap was further revealed in recent months in Palestine, Egypt and India. On January 30 the government announced the resumption of Jewish immigration into Palestine following the outbreak of frequent well-planned acts of terrorism by Jewish armed organizations. Egyptian bargaining power in the negotiations for a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty has been greatly increased by a series of riots and demonstrations which reached their height in February. The current offer of independence to India coincidentally followed the Bombay and Calcutta violence since last November and the mutinies of February 1946. It is probably more closely related to those events than to the ideology of the British Labor Party.

All these concessions indicate the real nature of colonial rule by Great Britain, the most ardent vocal advocate of order in international affairs.

MORROE BERGER

The Independent Woman: A New Course

by Ethel Goldwater

IT seems likely, judging from the history of woman's struggle for equality, that the woman must first become a man (that is, prove to herself and to men that she can do the things men do) before she can become a woman. The feminist movement in 19th century America fought for the right to man's education, man's work, man's sex freedom; and so much progress has been made toward these goals that in the man's view—in America, at least—they have already been reached. However, the two classic theories concerning her best course continue to be debated: Is her place in the home? Or does her feminist pride demand a man's experiences? But is it correct to argue these questions as though the alternatives were mutually exclusive—as in the standby of the woman's page, "Career vs. Babies"? It is the thesis of this article that a woman needs both career and babies, both a life in the home and one outside the home. Neither the feminist challenge nor the conservative reaction to it any longer seem to be adequate formulations.

1.

BEFORE the industrial revolution, woman's physical weakness placed her in most civilizations in an inferior position to man. Her functions were to please him and to perform the tasks too dull for him. The machine economy presented her with a new choice: to live without him, financially self-sufficient. Her physical weakness began to lose economic importance when the power of the machine dwarfed man's strength as well as her own. Her hands were as useful in the factory as they had been for centuries in the household and in the fields.

The ambitious woman's first reaction to her new freedom from slavery was the quite natural desire to emulate her former master. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, first leader of the woman's rights movement in America, tells in her autobiography how, when she was eleven years old, she tried to console her father for the death of her only brother with the resolve, "I will try to be all my brother was." But after winning second prize in a Greek class, where she was the only girl, her hopes of satisfying her father by this astonishing evidence that a girl could be as good as a boy were stricken by the most flattering words a man of his time could summon up: "You should have been a boy!"

This expression of the prevailing attitude thrust her into a life directed toward the establishment of women's equality; the program of her group was gradually expanded to include all those man's privileges which are now casually enjoyed by most American women, after less than a century of agitation: higher education, the franchise, civil rights, comfortable dress, birth control.

After World War I, and the period of sex freedom that followed, the militant feminist movement in America, having won its demands, began to "wither away." Radical and liberal attention then shifted to the dramatic overturn in sex morality in the new Soviet Union, where feminism was a cornerstone in the Communist economic structure.

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(When the structure crumbled, and was rebuilt according to a different plan, this stone was still found to be useful, but it had lost its original polish.)

In the Communist Utopia, women, like the other oppressed "minorities," are promised self-determination. Alexandra Kollontay wrote that marriage is to be "a union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal persons of the Communist Society, both of them free, both of them independent, both of them workers." (Communism and the Family.) Economic security will bring emotional freedom; the woman, released from the necessity to marry for financial support, will marry only for love. It was the logical conclusion of the feminist philosophy that the child be considered the property of the state; only through maternity benefits and the daily separation of the child from the mother could the mother remain a worker and independent of the man. Immediately after the nursing period, the mother begins to take her child to the nursery each morning on her way to work, and calls for him on the way home after a short work-day. Communal child-rearing would be as economical as communal cooking.

The post-revolutionary sex freedom was notorious, though short-lived. All the later deviations, evolving from the changing character of the Soviet state, have been to the right, with one exception. In the Soviet Union today, the woman keeps her economic independence of the man, her first necessity, and the gift of the modern industrial system. This right will always be on the program of advanced women; but Soviet and also Nazi experience proves that its benefits are not automatic. The woman is independent of the man in Russia, but she is still enslaved by the totalitarian state, which is the strongest form of patriarchy—a state form which, like the religious systems, perpetuates the assumption that man is superior. She is in the first place reduced to her functional biological role, her erotic needs ignored, since nationalist ambitions demand a high birth rate. She is secondarily a housewife, for the funds originally allotted for the manufacture of washing machines are diverted to the arms factory. Thirdly, she is a worker, but assigned to the job which the man's state considers suitable for her "feminine" capabilities. In practice, her job opportunities are probably greater than here, since there is traditionally less false sentiment in Russia concerning her physical endurance, and her work is necessary to the continuous war economy under which the country has operated since the Revolution. But since no equalitarian principle protects her, she has even less job tenure than the man.

War accelerates social processes. In Britain and this country during World War II, women have demonstrated their ability as industrial workers; in France and Italy, they have been given the vote for the first time. But the effects of war on the status of women have not been only favorable.

Total war may indeed be defined as a war against women. They were never before so directly victimized: the woman munitions worker is a primary bomb target; the greatest weapons of destruction are reserved for the women and children of the "home front." Women and children are also awarded the dignity of "responsibility": they were found among the politicals in all the Nazi concentration camps; Jewish women were killed by the millions in the death camps. The humanitarian myth no longer protects women, neither the enemy's women, nor, by implication, our own. In this ironic sense, the modern woman has at last won "equal rights."

2.

AMERICAN culture still discourages woman's full development by emphasizing marriage and motherhood. It has enlisted all its scientific forces to endear this choice to her, offering her prolonged youth and beauty, painless childbirth, streamlined kitchens. But if she follows this path, she is not honored for it. Success in the home ranks low in the hierarchy of distinguished callings. The woman envies "man's work"; he has never envied hers. At the same time, the woman who does only "man's work," rejecting domesticity, is belittled, even though her activity may be recognized as socially useful; for such a rejection marks her as either abnormal, a "career woman," * or a sexual failure. In the popular mind, the American woman not only should be but is indeed interested only in sexual attraction, and all her activities—social, artistic, intellectual, political, economic—are never merely subordinate to this end but are pursued precisely to further it. The insistent flow of newspaper and magazine advertising, popular novels, the radio, the movies—which so insidiously attract while they repel—quietly and inexorably forces the feminine stereotype into our minds.

Even in left-wing intellectual circles, whose members would think it unnecessary to argue the question of woman's equality, and who imagine that their personal lives reflect this conviction, our culture has imposed its standard of excellence for women: they must be charming, sexually attractive, apparently young, well-dressed—pretty much according to the Hollywood type. Their place is also "in the home," when they are not at their regular jobs. It is the wife who leaves the cocktail party or the meeting early to take care of her child (if she is lucky enough to have a child!). She gives up radical activity as soon as she becomes a mother; if she continues an outside interest after marriage, she, too, like the bourgeois wife, does well to assure her husband that it is subordinate in importance to his own. Their affirmation of sexual freedom is taken for granted, yet the old bourgeois "double standard" usually obtains in such households. The radical, like the bourgeois, depreciates the woman who fails to surmount her difficulties and attain a "masculine" goal. Of course, he prefers that this "masculine" success come to the other fellow's wife!

The attitude in leftwing quarters toward the unmarried woman is even more reactionary. If she is attractive, the husband regards her as a challenge to his erotic irresistibility, and the wife as a threat to her marital security. And they are perfectly right. For all three are well aware that she cannot escape the necessity for sexual success, which they, too, perhaps only unconsciously, consider of central importance for the woman. The unmarried woman who is not conventionally charming is generally omitted from social

* This derogatory phrase is indiscriminately applied to all women who practice their work with a long-term view, although such women do not generally sacrifice their personal lives to their ambitions but rather desire and achieve success in all their interests. (The successful woman in our culture is more versatile than the successful man.) In fact, their work success is largely due to the encouragement of their family circle.

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evenings, for although she may be the intellectual friend of the women, the men cannot really bring themselves to take seriously her contributions to their theoretical arguments. In fact, it is significant of the woman's intellectual insecurity, and of the man's patronizing attitude toward her mentality, that the discussions in these social groups, when not tête à tête, are generally dominated by the men. The rare woman who seizes the floor is not remarked for her self-confidence, or her perhaps superior verbal gift (the well-recognized "feminine" talent), but her words are vaguely devaluated as coming from an unpleasantly unfeminine "aggressor."

But the radical woman's central conflict is a more serious one which she shares with all independent women of today. She must remain in the bourgeois groove, as lover-housewife, and with even more internal and external pressure upon her to do some other work as well, yet she often forgoes motherhood, which may be as essential to her happiness as to the bourgeois woman's. Her reasons for the renunciation are varied: her feminism, which regards the child as the symbol of bondage; financial insecurity; or the instability of her marriage relation. She is free to be economically independent of her lover, free even to take the man's role in her financial support of him (for his work is often poorly rewarded in the bourgeois culture), free to live with him or to leave him without legal fuss, but not free to expect his cooperation in satisfying a basic emotional need, unless she takes full responsibility for the child.

The feminist philosophy thus leads her to a new kind of inequality. Her apparent strength discourages the development of a protective attitude in the man, so that he evades acknowledgment of her real dependence. She "channels" her maternal feeling toward protecting him. Her assumption of the "masculine" economic function is not a reversal of roles, which would be satisfactory in an equalitarian society, but is merely an addition to her other duties, for he is not sufficiently secure in his masculinity, nor in his radicalism, to take over, without embarrassment, the household tasks which he has been taught to scorn as naturally female.

3.

TODAY in America, the woman is as necessary to the economic world as the man, and as technology advances, the home needs her labor less, while more kinds of jobs are open to her. "One out of every four young women will work for a living," William F. Ogburn recently predicted, "and one out of every seven will continue to work after she is married." Approximately 17½ million American women will continue to be wage-earners.

The woman's handicaps in earning a living—her biology, her "feminine" traits, her education—continue to be great, although they can be lessened by cultural reform. The biological function of menstruation is causing less inefficiency and absenteeism as psychosomatic investigation shows that much of its ill effect is due to psychological and hormonal factors. Even gestation can be considered as partly cultural, since the degree of incapacity varies in different cultures. Unquestionably, some of the woman's psychology emanates from her sexual nature, but it is impossible to judge how much of her present character is immutable. The woman's education, starting at birth, when she is first carried in her pink blanket, is the strongest force in her "feminine" conditioning.

The popular view is that the woman brings to all of her activities some inherent characteristics. In his recent book, *Women and Men*, Amram Scheinfeld goes into this at length. He notes that woman is thought to be emotional, vain, deceitful, passive, intuitive, masochistic. None of these generalizations has been scientifically arrived at. Tests have so far revealed only two *inherent* sex differences (as distinguished from differences due to education and conditioning), "male muscular superiority and female verbal excellence." ("Sex Roles in Postwar Planning", by Georgene H. Seward; *Journal of Social Psychology*, Feb. 1944). The testing of children, described in Charlotte Buhler's *From Birth to Maturity* shows that in the childhood years, through puberty, the activities of both sexes are essentially the same. "Striking performance of any kind in childhood, e.g., drawing, or mechanical talent, is an expression of general mental alertness and initiative rather than of special talent in a given direction." It is the man of the house who is expected to fix the creaking door, but the woman, enrolled in the Home Repairs course during the war, was quickly initiated into this "masculine" mystery.

At puberty, although sexual development proceeds at a different rate, the two sexes remain the same in showing an aversion to home routine; but this distaste is respected only in the boy. The girl is pressed to continue her practice of the household skills, for this is her preparation for marriage (the only training, besides a few lessons in sex anatomy, which our culture can devise!)

After puberty, at about the age of 17, both the girl and the boy become absorbed in the adolescent wish to "accomplish something that is as unique and significant as possible." (Buhler) But the meaning of the folktale now becomes clear: "She shall fall asleep . . . until the prince's kiss awakens her." Her ambition recedes before the imminent necessity to become a wife and mother. Sometimes an abrupt and bewildering change takes place in the attitude of her parents, who, if they are "progressive," will have urged her up to this point to ape the boy in her play (boats, airplanes, weapons of war), and in her clothing—slacks are more suitable for climbing—and now her intellectualism or her vocational ambitions become of much lesser value in their eyes than her interest in makeup and dates, while her brother is praised for his continued single-mindedness.

Even though the girl matures physically and mentally earlier than the boy, which is now believed by psychologists, this is no sound argument for segregation in the schools. Coeducation gives the girl, by constant association, an understanding of the masculine personality, only haphazardly learned in the home or in neighborhood play, which is even more essential to her work life than to her social life. It also sets an example of equality of treatment which helps to correct the inferiority feeling developed in a more backward home.

If there is indeed a characteristic feminine style of performance in some tasks, this should not bar the woman from attempting any job which has always been handled by men. The "feminine" approach may be just what is needed.

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Until we know by experiment what jobs are outside the feminine realm, the girl should choose her vocation, as the boy does, by desire and ability.

4.

THE current educational confusion, at home and in the school, is only one of the woman's vocational handicaps. She has still to reconcile her work life with marriage and motherhood. This is the central problem of the modern woman. She has some misgivings about motherhood. While our culture expects the woman to fulfill her biological destiny, it takes motherhood for granted. It is merely a duty performed, and even then it must be performed according to strict moral rules. Also, although the mother's love for her children continues unabated throughout life, their eventual separation from her is certain, and necessary for their best development; and her loss generally occurs at a time of life when the void is difficult to fill.

The growing knowledge of child psychology is improving the mother's prestige. The psychoanalytic emphasis on the infantile years and on the importance of the mother tie for both boy and girl logically means that the mother's function is of much greater importance than is usually granted. The ability to be a good mother does not depend only on sound health and mature sex glands, a common belief. Motherhood is a profound complex, rewarding by the highest euphoria and punishing by the deepest despair. It is no longer a "natural" process for the civilized woman —neither is it a vocation, to be learned at school. It is a difficult task, and we know little of the proper preparation for it.

The general belief is that motherhood is a life job, forcing women to give up outside work. But how long is the mother really needed in the home? Psychologists recommend that the family unit, mother-father-child, hold together for the child's first five or six years. Since the only child is given a poor prognosis for adult happiness, the family should endure at least through the infantile years of one or two more children. The mother's full job retirement is necessary, then, for only twelve or fifteen years. Even during this time, the actual care of the child does not consume more than a few hours daily.

Therefore, it is not child-care that cuts short her career, but simply a misinterpretation of the phrase, "woman's biological function," which now connotes not only the bearing and nurture of the child, but also housewifery, which includes nothing which a man cannot do equally well. It is a survival of the old slavery of the woman, of the idea of her as a piece of property, an inferior drudge who performs the tasks too dull for her master. Her economic dependence in our American culture during the nursing period automatically fastens some housewifely duties upon her; but it is everywhere understood that even without motherhood the wife is also the housewife, no matter what other career she may have. The American husband, though he is more advanced in this respect than the European, is very willing to *assist* (and one would be an ingrate to belittle his sympathy and considerateness!). But if he assumes the responsibility of a daily household task which is known as female, even though he can do it better, he is demeaning himself—he is a little ridiculous.

But this is the country which is famous for its "electrification." The spoiled wife who fills her blank hours with beauty culture and bridge-playing is a world-known American type. These are the facts of her true leisure: In a survey made of 1500 typical American homemakers, farm women were found to spend 62 hours a week on household work, *with only about ten hours of this time spent in child-care;* women in cities of under 50,000 population spent an average of 53 hours, and in the larger cities, 47 hours. Only 5% of all the families of the U.S. (in 1929, a peak year) had paid help. (*Women in the Economy of the U.S.*, by Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon; Government Printing Office, 1937)

Obviously the question, "Career or Babies?" is not a proper one. It is not the babies that prevent the woman from working outside the home, it is "woman's work"—cleaning, cooking, washing, mending, marketing. It is an illogical absurdity that men can do all of these jobs outside the home and not within it.

5.

THE independent woman's manifesto, intended to advance her to true equality, socially and economically, would advocate the following:

1. Since the demarcation between "woman's work" and "man's work" has no biological basis, both the boy and the girl should receive instruction in housework; since it is expected that they will both become parents, why not also give them instruction in child-care? The girl should be taught that motherhood is a function of the woman, not the entire woman; planned motherhood will require her full job retirement for less than one fourth of her life. She may, without criticism, renounce motherhood, if she likes, since it is no more morally obligatory for her to be a mother than it is for the man to be a father.

2. Housework and child-care should be simplified by full use of the machine-age household tools, which can be made even more effective, and which are beyond the financial reach of too many families. The special services (diaper service, sitters, the cooked foods shop, etc.) represent a technological advance over the maid-of-all-work. They have the advantage, too, of respecting the privacy which the American may characteristically prefer to communal living. The nursery schools, and cooperative arrangements for child-care should be extended; the latter are even now well-developed on some housing projects. A reconsideration of home care standards is also indicated. The so-called good housewife is now chained to an impossible ideal of order and cleanliness, and the time consumed is out of all proportion to the value of the transitory effect. Her fanaticism is advanced by the women's magazines, which see the woman's life as spent on an endless treadmill of redecoration, of the home and of the person. Unionization for the household worker and a course of training will improve work quality and by assuring regular hours and wages will attract the more efficient person. This will help to erase the stigma attached to "woman's work," a change which will benefit all women.

3. The regular leisure acquired in these ways should be used by the woman for part-time participation or study in

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a field of work which she will re-enter, or enter for the first time, after her service in the home is no longer required. The suggestion, made by Scheinfeld, that the mother begin a career after the child-bearing period is practicable only for those pursuits which need little educational preparation. (Politics, for instance, which is beginning to attract many middle-aged women). But it is difficult to regain a habit of work and study after a period of complete neglect. Even if she does not return to full employment until her children are grown up, she should not allow her interest to lapse altogether. The mother's emotional dependence on her children will be lessened, which is good for her own mental health and for that of her children. When the children reach maturity and leave the home, she will console herself with doing another useful job. At present, the older woman has one pleasure on her horizon, to relive her "romantic moment" in her daughter and her motherhood in her grandchildren.

★

In conclusion, the pursuit of a life vocation is no longer the sign of a militant feminist, unless she is anti-man or anti-child at the same time. She merely satisfies the wish for individual recognition, a desire which is as "womanly" as it is "manly." If the independent woman in her career may be said to be living like a man, it is her problem to learn to live like a woman as well, for this is also her deep desire. Only in her dual activity can her full emotional and intellectual energy be released.

Our utopias need a little feminine revision. According to the Marxist blueprint, only the mother is thought to be needed in the home, for she bears and nurses the child, while the state does the housework and pays the bills. This is an error. Since the mother tie is much more than an economic one, the mother is never free. But what are the father's duties in this scheme? None. His association with the family is truly voluntary. Perhaps this is only the Freudian infantile wish of the revolutionary, to eliminate the father! The family, the crucible of our deepest feelings, will remain, for the woman never really leaves it. And the man, having at last conquered all his enemies—the projection of his fears and hates—which threaten the home, will return to it. He will then stand with the woman against death, on the side of life. Man's place is in the home!

EXPRESS, COLLECT: ONE D.P.

Displaced persons in the U.S. zone in Germany are being given first preference in the immigration quota of the U.S. . . . Miss Helen Zilka, 1552 West Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ill., will direct UNRRA aid to immigration officers in preparing DP's for shipment.

—News release from UNRRA, March 30.

WITH THE MARXICOLOGISTS

It is a commonplace in history that a brake upon progress can under certain conditions become its accelerator. . . . The familiar badge of capitalist servitude is the check number and the eternal time-card. In (the steel strike at) Lackawanna, these same time-cards were given out for picket duty. On them was written the picket's name and his check number in the plant. His picket captain signed him in and out for picket duty, just as his foreman had done in the plant. After five weeks of picketing . . . there were still 1,276 men showing up steadily on the picket line. . . . Capitalism had given Lackawanna good training.

—from an article by V. Grey in "Fourth International" for April.

Man — Piltdown to Fermi

THE most important idea, according to Julian Huxley, that modern biology has contributed to general thought is the fact of progress in evolutionary change. There are, says Huxley, two principal types of evolution: the main line of development from fish through reptile and mammal to man, and the thousands of specializations which, after developing some one characteristic to the highest possible degree, came universally to a dead end. The horse, for example, specialized in speed and reduced its toes from four to three to one, and then could go no further. The bird specialized in flying and soon reached its limit; it has not significantly developed as a flying mechanism for fifteen million years. And a type of Irish elk grew continuously larger antlers until it was no longer able to support their weight, and the species become extinct. Man, however, has wisely not specialized but has developed a head, a central nervous system, a brain—a means of harmonizing his activities, of controlling external nature, and increasing his all-around capacity for life. This, says Huxley, is a true example of progress in evolution, and the only possibility for further progress rests with man.

But the thought occurs, suppose that man is also a 'specialization' and that his specialty is precisely his guiding intelligence. In that case, there are a million analogies for the prediction that he too will come to a dead end and will be destroyed by the over-development of a single faculty. (By over-development, of course, we mean disproportionate development, for the antlers of the elk were not too large, but merely too large for its body, and we shall never have too much intelligence, but merely more than our other abilities warrant.)

But why should man's specialization be like the elk's, which leads to extinction, rather than like that of the horse, which merely halts any further development? The answer is that man has become, to a greater degree than any other species before him, a dominant kind, and it is characteristic of these that they engage in 'intra-specific competition.' Intra-specific competition is a competition among individuals of the same species, and unlike the regular Darwinian struggle for existence, it is usually harmful to the species as a whole. The display plumage of the argus pheasant, for example, may gain a mate for one male in preference to another, but the entire species would be better off without it. Now war is a type of intra-specific competition which is peculiar to men and ants, and into this the main force of our specialization has now been turned. Thus the very quality which gave man his dominance when the struggle was chiefly with his environment will cause his extinction now that it is with himself. For mind is an advantage only under some circumstances—the circumstances of a frontier society; lacking an external conflict, it becomes destructive of itself.

But cannot the problem of intelligence be solved by intelligence itself? Does not the understanding of a natural law, such as the law of intra-specific competition, render it

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inoperative on the species which understands—or at least open the possibility of rendering it inoperative?

It does, and our intelligence has been at work. But by itself it is clearly insufficient, for the bomb has now given us problems that were created by intelligence but seem to lie beyond its solution. Some other faculty, on which we have neglected to specialize, is apparently required. The usual way of phrasing this is to say that our moral and social development has not kept pace with our scientific achievement. But that is not a good way of phrasing it, for it mistakes the nature of both morality and science. The deep difference between them is that science has as its subject the real world of nature, which it merely explores and classifies and describes; whereas the world of the artist and the statesman and the deviser of religions has no existence except as they create it and embody it in themselves and their work. They constitute their own material. They are like a ruler measuring its own reflection in the glass, and what they study will never be any longer or finer than themselves. The difference is between an activity and a quality. Man *performs* his scientific achievement, but he *is* his moral and social and artistic development; and these human sciences will evolve only so fast as humanity, by mutation and recombination of genes, changes its nature and evolves. This does happen, but it happens so very slowly that within the entire historic period its movement has been imperceptible. In intelligence the Greeks were our perfect equal, and this answers Hazlitt's question as to why there is no progress in the arts. There *is* progress if you retreat to the Cro-Magnon man, but you can no more perceive it within the historic period than you can the curvature of the earth from the back stoop of a Dakota farm.

Man's scientific development, on the other hand, is a function not of himself but of the world about him. It is an exploratory and not a creative activity, and thus it progresses, with slight recessions for one generation to digest the work of its predecessors, almost as fast as the learning process itself. "If I have seen farther than other men," said Newton, "it is because I have stood on the shoulders of giants." President Truman could, if he would be troubled, stand on the shoulders of Pericles or Thucydides or Machiavelli or Christ, but he would still see no farther than their epaulets. For our political wisdom is not, as Burke so emptily declaimed, the accumulated wisdom of the ages, but it is the measure of our own stature as men. With Truman that is too pitiful ever to advert to again.

This, then, is why 'our moral and social development has not kept pace with our scientific achievement.' It is not a matter for self-flagellation or fasting; it is simply a fact that we might have predicted if we had thought carefully about our own nature. It shows us that our intelligence is not, as Huxley defined it, a means of increasing our all-around capacity for life. It is a specialization which enables us to turn loose upon ourselves certain natural forces; and these forces, more powerful than those that brought down the great reptiles, are capable of destroying even man. And it shows us further that we have neglected the saving creative faculty which might have induced us to refrain.

There must be no talk of suddenly developing this. It will develop as the genes mutate, which is a matter of eons; and it will develop gradually, for although mutation is a jump, it has never jumped as far as from where we are to where we have to go, nor can we expect such heroism from a tiny gamete. There is, however, an evolution of ideas as well as species, and for that the moment is unusually happy. For we know that the big steps, the really new achievements in evolution, are regularly taken under the stress of necessity, to meet suddenly changed conditions. And on August 6, when we moved from a world of electronics to one of nucleonics, the conditions of our world were changed more profoundly and suddenly than ever before. Our adaptation should be equally sudden and profound. And thence arises a kind of wild possibility that in the urgency of our fear the needed idea may come, though it come in advance, so to speak, of our mind's capacity to house it.

We have long been aware what this idea must be. The only way we can be safe from the atomic bomb, says Stephen King-Hall, is to devise a world in which no one will have the slightest desire to drop a bomb on anyone else. That can be accomplished only through some profound revolution in human opinion, some rearrangement of our most basic habits of thought, of our deepest philosophic assumptions—such a revolution as may have occurred, perhaps, in the time of Christ and again in the renaissance of the twelfth century. Occurring now, it would abandon the out-worn individualism of the Renaissance, of which the central idea is competition, and replace it by some more corporate form of society, in which cooperation is the central idea.

One must concede that this is unlikely to happen. If it did and we could stay alive for a few million years, we might sit around until our genes caught up with our ideas and go on comfortably from there. But it is not likely to happen. We have become like the two little street waifs who were looking at a war headline and one of whom asked, 'What are *you* going to be if *you* grow up?'* For most of us this question has become purely rhetorical, and one regards the fact with mingled emotions. True, there is an authentic sweetness and divinity in life that we would not willingly let die, but sometimes too the hideousness of the world rises up and almost chokes us. At such moments it does seem fitting that man should stretch his fossil out beside that of Tyrannosaurus and let the mosquitoes have the next try. The Creator might then set down in His book that the experiment of the brain was not a success.

A. DWIGHT CULLER

* Note by Ed.: A variant appears in *Time* for Dec. 17, 1945: "In the world's largest city last week, toward the middle of the 20th century after Christ, five years after the Great Blitz, in the fifth month of the Atomic Age, an eight-year old boy was asked what he wanted to be when he grew up. Said London's child: 'Alive.'"

POT AND KETTLE DEPT.

South Africa's race problem is nearing a crisis. . . . The trouble is that the natives are treated in a way that would shock Americans. Their pay is lower by law than that provided for whites. They are segregated. . . . They are not admitted to white unions. No attention is paid to their health, and in general they are exploited in a way that defies decency or even common prudence.

—Editorial in "Pensacola (Fla.) News-Journal", March 16.

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A Non-Dogmatic Approach to Marxism

by Karl Korsch

THE documents here assembled are not meant as a contribution to the discussion for or against Marxism that has been conducted in this magazine for so many months. There is no use in discussing controversial points in any social theory (not even in that social theory which is commonly described as religion) unless such discussion is part of an existing social struggle. There must be several possibilities of action for the party, group, or class to which the social theory in question refers. The difference may concern social aims, tactics, forms of organization, or the definition of the enemy, of allies, neutrals, or the master plan (if any) to be based on one or another way of judging a given social situation or development. Yet the result of any such materialist discussion must in all cases "make a difference" in respect to the actual behavior not of an individual nor of a small group of people, but of a veritable collectivity, a social mass. In this materialistic sense, it is not even sure that the particular social theory called Marxism has ever been the subject of a discussion in this country.

Various people have been asked from time to time why they are, or why they are not, Marxists, just as they might have been asked why they believe, or do not believe, in God, in science, or morality; in race, class, democracy, victory, peace, or the impending destruction of all civilization by the atom bomb. There has also been some philological and interpretative effort spent on settling the question of "what Marx really meant". Last but not least, there has been far too much of that most senseless of all discussions which aimed at deciding which particular shade of the theories of Marx, Engels and the several generations of their disciples up to Lenin, Stalin, or, let us say, Leontov, represents the most orthodox version of the Marxist doctrine. Or, one step higher, which of the various methods used at different times by Hegel, Marx, and the Marxists truly deserves to be called the genuine "dialectical" method.

As against that altogether dogmatic approach which had already sterilized the revolutionary Marxist theory in all but a few phases of its century-long development in Europe, and by which the attempted extension of Marxism to the US has been blighted from the very beginning, it is here proposed to revindicate the critical, pragmatic, and activistic element which for all this has never been entirely eliminated from the social theory of Marx and which during the few short phases of its predominance has made that theory a most efficient weapon of the proletarian class struggle.

The documents reprinted below result in part from an earlier attempt at reemphasizing just this element of the Marxist theory,—an attempt that was made by the present writer and a group of associates in Germany in the early thirties and which was then temporarily interrupted by the anti-Marxist violence of the Hitler government. Of the four documents two date still farther back to similar attempts that had been made in 1894 and 1902 by such non-dogmatic Marxists as Lenin and Georges Sorel. They were used as models and as points of departure by the group of 1931 when it started on its new attempt at de-dogmatizing and reactivating the Marxian theory.

The Lenin piece of 1894 (*Document III*) was directed against a book in which the economic and sociological theories of the famous Narodniki theorist, Mikhailovski, had been critically attacked by the then "Marxist" (later, bourgeois) writer, Peter Struve. Of this important work of Lenin, unfortunately only a small part has appeared in English (Selected Works of Lenin, vol. I) and that part does not include the chapter from which we have taken the piece printed below. The particular interest of our document lies in the fact that just on that occasion Lenin, himself a materialist critic of the idealist "subjectivism" of the Narodniki, found himself in a position in which he had to extend his materialist criticism, with equal fervor, to the abstract and lifeless "objectivism" of Struve. In order to make Lenin's argument fully understandable, we quote the sentence of Struve which aroused Lenin's ire. Struve had found fault with Mikhailovski's opinion that there are "no unsurmountable historical tendencies which serve as starting points as well as obligatory limits to the purposive activity of the individual and the social groups." Lenin is quick in discovering the non-revolutionary implications of this Struvean comment on Mikhailovski. "This", says Lenin, "is the language of an objectivist, and not that of a Marxist (materialist)." And from this point of departure, Lenin embarks on his demonstration of the important differences which separate the principles of the "Objectivists" on the one hand, from those of the "Marxists" (Materialists) on the other hand.

Document IV tries to bring out more distinctly the non-dogmatic character of Lenin's antithesis to Struve's objectivistic version of the traditional Marxist doctrine. For this purpose and for a series of further experiments in loosening up and de-dogmatizing certain parts of the Marxist theory, the group of 1931 made use of the similar experiment made by Sorel in 1902. According to Sorel, the six theses reproduced in *Document II* below result from a process of "extracting the strictly scientific elements of history from the theory of historical materialism". In this critical reformulation of historical materialism by one of the most scientific and most pragmatically minded interpreters of Marxism in modern times, the least important point is, in the view of the writer, Sorel's special emphasis on the role of legal concepts and the legal profession. What really matters is the attempt to clarify the various concatenations that exist between the general terms of the materialist theory and of which the law and its professional exploiters

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seem to be only one of a number of possible illustrations. Most important, however, is the form in which Sorel has changed into a positive inspiration for unfettered scientific research what till then must have seemed to many historians a somewhat authoritarian laying down of the rules of writing history. (A different impression might have been derived, perhaps, from a closer acquaintance with the remarkably free application that had been made of the new "critical and materialist method" by Marx himself. Yet the new weapon of the revolutionary class struggle had already lost much of its critical edge in the hands of the first generation of the Marxist scholars at the time of Sorel's writing. And it is no secret that since then revolutionary Marxism has lost out completely against the "stabilizing" influences that were expressed theoretically in the growth of the old and the new Marx orthodoxy—from Kautsky to Stalin. So the Sorelian operation has to be performed once more.)

Finally, we have added a document which is meant to do for the famous "dialectical method" what Sorel and Lenin did for historical materialism. The theses On Hegel and Revolution translated in *Document I* were first written in German for the centenary of Hegel's death, in 1931. As will be seen, they approach from a totally opposite direction the whole tangle of difficulties which beset the problem of the Hegelian dialectic and its (modified or unmodified) use by Marx and Engels. Dialectics is here considered not as a kind of super-logic, that is, not as a set of rules to be applied by individual thinkers in the process of thinking—just like ordinary logic, and distinguished from the latter only in the sense in which so-called "higher" mathematics is distinguished from those simpler and, in fact, long outdated rules which are taught as "elementary mathematics" in our schools today. It is treated rather as a number of characteristic phenomena that can be observed from without in the sequence and development of thoughts in a given historical period.

The first "non-dogmatic" result of this changed approach is that a man does not become a revolutionary by studying dialectics but, on the contrary, the revolutionary change in human society affects among other things also the way in which the people of a particular period tend to produce and to exchange their thoughts. Materialist dialectics, then, is the historical investigation of the manner in which in a given revolutionary period, and during the different phases of that period, particular social classes, groups, individuals form and accept new words and ideas. It deals with the often unusual and remarkable forms in which they connect their own and other people's thoughts and cooperate in disintegrating the existing closed systems of knowledge and in replacing them by other and more flexible systems or, in the most favorable case, by no system at all but by a new and completely unfettered movement of free thought passing rapidly through the changing phases of a more or less continuous or discontinuous development.

Secondly, it appears by implication (from theses II and III) that there is no reason to boast of the fact that both Marx and Lenin, after a first violent criticism and repudiation of the old Hegelian "dialectic", have returned at a later stage, in a mood of disenchantment and partial frustration, to a very little qualified acceptance of that same philosophical method that, at its best, had reflected the bourgeois revolution of an earlier period. Here as in many other respects, the unfettered development of the Marxian theory does not point backwards to old bourgeois philosophies and ideas, but forward to a non-dogmatic and non-authoritarian, scientific and activistic use of the Marxian as well as all other theoretical formulations of the collective experience of the working class.

DOCUMENT I

Theses on Hegel and Revolution

(*by K.K.*, 1931)

I. The Hegelian philosophy and its dialectical method can not be understood without taking into account its relationship to revolution.
   1) It originated historically from a revolutionary movement.
   2) It fulfilled the task of giving to that movement its conceptual expression.
   3) Dialectical thought is revolutionary even in its form:
      a) turning away from the immediately given—radical break with the hitherto existing—"standing on the head"—new beginning;
      b) principle of contradiction and negation;
      c) principle of permanent change and development—of the "qualitative leap."
   4) Once the revolutionary task is out of the way and the new society fully established, the revolutionary dialectical method inevitably disappears from its philosophy and science.

II. The Hegelian philosophy and its dialectical method can not be criticized without taking into account its relationship to the particular historical conditions of the revolutionary movement of the time.
   1) It is a philosophy not of revolution in general, but of the bourgeois revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries.
   2) Even as a philosophy of the bourgeois revolution, it does not reflect the entire process of that revolution, but only its concluding phase. It is thus a philosophy not of the revolution, but of the restoration.
   3) This twofold historical nature of the Hegelian dialectic appears formally in a twofold limitation of its revolutionary character.
      a) The Hegelian dialectic though dissolving all preexisting fixations, results in the end in a new fixation: it becomes an absolute itself and, at the same time, 'absolutizes' the whole dogmatic content of the Hegelian philosophical system that had been based on it.
      b) The revolutionary point of the dialectical approach is ultimately bent back to the 'circle', that is, to a conceptual reinstatement of the immediately given reality, to a reconciliation with that reality, and to a glorification of existing conditions.

III. The attempt made by the founders of scientific socialism to salvage the high art of dialectical thinking by transplanting it from the German idealist philosophy to the materialist conception of nature and history, from the bourgeois to the proletarian theory of revo-

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lution, appears, both historically and theoretically, as a transitory step only. What has been achieved is a theory not of the proletarian revolution developing on its own basis, but of a proletarian revolution that has just emerged from the bourgeois revolution; a theory which therefore in every respect, in content and in method, is still tainted with the birthmarks of Jacobinism, that is, of the revolutionary theory of the bourgeoisie.

DOCUMENT II

Theses on the Materialistic Conception of History

(*Submitted to the* 1902 *Convention of the Societé Francaise de Philosophie, by Georges Sorel*)

1) For investigating a period (of history) it is of great advantage to find out how society is divided in classes; the latter are distinguished by the essential legal concepts connected with the way in which incomes are formed in each group.
2) It is advisable to dismiss all atomistic explanations; it is not worth while to inquire how the links between individual psychologies are formed. What can be observed directly, are those links themselves, that which refers to the masses. The thoughts and activities of individuals are fully understandable only by their connection with the movements of the masses.
3) Much light is thrown on history if one is able to clarify the concatenation between the system of productive forces, the organization of labor, and the social relations that rule production.
4) Religious and philosophical doctrines have traditional sources; yet in spite of their tendency to organize themselves in systems totally closed to all outside influences, they are usually somehow connected with the social conditions of the period. From this viewpoint, they appear as mental reflections of the conditions of life and often as attempts to explain history by a doctrine of faith.
5) The history of a doctrine will be fully clarified only when it can be connected with the history of a social group that makes it its task to develop and apply that particular doctrine (influence of the legal profession).
6) Assuming that revolutions do not have the effect to make possible a greater extension of the productive forces that are obstructed in their development by an outdated legislation, it is still of the greatest importance to examine a social transformation from this point of view and to investigate how the legal ideas are transformed under the pressure of a universally felt need for economic emancipation.

DOCUMENT III

Materialism Versus Objectivism

(*By Lenin*, 1894)

The objectivist speaks of the necessity of the given historical process; the materialist (Marxist) determines exactly the given economic form of society and the antagonistic relations arising from it. The objectivist, in proving the necessity of a given series of facts, always runs the risk to get into the position of an apologist of those facts; the materialist reveals the antagonisms of classes and thereby determines his own position. The objectivist speaks of "unsurmountable historical tendencies"; the materialist speaks of the class which "directs" the given economic order and thus, at the same time, brings forth one form or another of resistance by the other classes. Thus, the materialist is, on the one hand, more consistent than the objectivist and reaches a more thorough and more comprehensive objectivism. He is not satisfied with pointing to the necessity of the process, but clearly states the economic form of society underlying the content of just that process, and the particular class determining just that necessity. In our case, for example, the materialist would not content himself with referring to "unsurmountable historical tendencies"; he would point to the existence of certain classes which determine the content of the given order and exclude any possibility of a solution but by the action of the producers themselves. On the other hand, the materialist principle implies, as it were, the element of party, by committing itself, in the evaluation of any event, to a direct and open acceptance of the position of a particular social group.

DOCUMENT IV

On an Activistic Form of Materialism and on the Class and Partisan Character of Science

(*By K.K.*, 1931)

1) There is little use in confronting the subjectivist doctrine of the decisive role of the individual in the historical process with another and equally abstract doctrine that speaks of the necessity of a given historical process. It is more useful to explore, as precisely as possible, the antagonistic relations that arise from the material conditions of production of a given economic form of society for the social groups participating in it.
2) Much light is thrown on history by countering every alleged necessity of a historical process with the following questions: a) necessary by the action of which classes? b) which modifications will be necessary in the action of the classes faced by the alleged historical necessity?
3) In the investigation of the antagonistic relations existing between the various classes and class fractions of an economic form of society, it is advisable to consider not only the material but also the ideological forms in which such antagonistic relations occur within the given economic form of society.
4) The content of a doctrine (theoretical system, any set of sentences and operational rules used for the statement and application of a theory or belief) cannot be clarified so long as it is not connected with the content of a given economic form of society and with the material interests of definite classes of that society.
5) There is no need to assume that the objectivity of a doctrine will be impaired by its methodical connection with the material interests and practical activities of definite classes.
6) Whenever a doctrine is not connected with the material interests of a definite class by its own proponents, one will often be justified in assuming that the proponents of such doctrine aim at defending by it the interests of the ruling classes of the society in question. In these

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cases the theoretical uncovering of the class function of a given doctrine is equivalent to a practical adoption of the cause of the classes oppressed in that society.

7) From this state of affairs, and from its theoretical recognition, springs the objective and subjective partisan nature of science.

LONDON LETTER

OUR liberties return, very slowly. The attitude of the government on this question of civil liberties seems to be opportunist. If sufficient clamour can be raised in the right quarters, the Home Secretary will make concessions, but in such a way that his action is clearly determined by expediency rather than principle. In the recent case of Sansom, the anarchist imprisoned for refusing to go into the army just after his release from a sentence for alleged disaffection of the armed forces, the Freedom Defence Committee issued a manifesto over the names of many celebrated writers and politicians, including the Chairmen of the Labour Party and the Independent Labour Party. Almost immediately Sansom received a special release.

On the other hand, there have been many recent cases in which the government has made no effort to interfere with manifestly unjust sentences. A scoutmaster was sentenced to fourteen years for a homosexual offence. His record showed him clearly to be a psychopathological case, but the Home Secretary did not interfere, because there was no agitation led by well-known people. Celebrities in England are very chary of associating themselves in any way with homosexuality. Another young man was sent to prison for five years for rape. The judge admitted that he was in an abnormal state and that his offence was due to psychological disorder, and recommended that he be given treatment. The treatment was administered and the man pronounced cured, but he is still in prison, finishing his sentence, because the Home Office is unwilling to offend precedent by releasing him. I could quote a score of similar cases to illustrate the cautious and unlibertarian attitude of the Labour Government.

It is clear that, for the government and the public, the ideas of freedom and justice as such have no great appeal. It is only particular cases of injustice which can be fought effectively, only particular freedoms for which people are willing to struggle. This was discovered by the Freedom Defence Committee, an organisation of individuals devoted to the defence of civil liberties (it is led by Herbert Read and George Orwell, and supported by many important writers, artists, politicians, etc.), when it launched a campaign for an amnesty for conscientious objectors, deserters, political prisoners, etc., imprisoned under wartime laws. In spite of public meetings and press publicity, of the co-operation of the Independent Labour Party, the Peace Pledge Union and the anarchist groups, the attitude of the public remained wholly apathetic, and only a few thousand signatures were obtained for the demand. The government has consistently refused even to consider the amnesty, although a non-Labour government granted one at the end of the 1914-18 war.

The question of how far conceptions of civil liberty should be limited by policy has occurred in connection with the campaign for legislation to forbid the formation of fascist or near-fascist organizations. This agitation has been initiated by the Stalinists and their fellow travellers, and the sole recent public activity of the Communist-dominated National Council for Civil Liberties has been, somewhat ironically, a demand for such prohibitive legislation. But there are many people on the left who feel that to introduce such measures is not only a limitation of freedom of speech and organisation, but also an admission of the inability of democratic ideas to stand on their own merits. Furthermore, there are many who, remembering the elastic nature of the term "fascist" when applied to the opponents of Stalinism, see a danger that such legislation might in fact be used against genuine anti-fascists rather than against the fascists themselves. Much support has been given to these misgivings by a recent broadcast by D. N. Pritt, a fellow-travelling lawyer, who let the cat out by saying that he wanted to see "above all . . . legislation against anti-Soviet propaganda". Clearly the Communists wish to use such laws against their political opponents in general, and one can imagine what a wave of denunciations there would be if once they were passed. It is to the credit of the Home Secretary that he has so far refused to support this agitation in any way.

One section of the community who see very little liberty are the armed forces. It is true that compulsory church parades are to be abolished, but, against this, we must place the tendency to impose very savage sentences even in peacetime for trivial offences against discipline. A recent list of sentences among occupation forces in Germany included the following:

Stealing property of a civilian. 4 *years penal servitude.*
Disobedience. 3 *years penal servitude.*
Striking a superior officer. 3 *years penal servitude.*
Leaving his Post without Orders. 3 *years penal servitude.*

An even worse sentence was imposed at Singapore on Aircraftsman Cymbalist, who was unlucky enough to be chosen as chairman at a meeting of discontented airmen during the recent R.A.F. strikes against slow demobilisation. He was given ten years' penal servitude! This severity may be due to the fact that the R.A.F. has always been considered something of a counter-revolutionary corps d'élite, and that disaffection in its ranks is regarded particularly seriously by the military authorities. However that may be, the fact remains that in this and similar cases the government departments have refused to interfere with the courts martial.

Yet another indication of the disinclination of the government to follow any policy based on firm principles of individual rights was given by their shabby treatment of the conscientious objectors. A Bill was brought to the House of Commons, providing for the release of conditionally exempted C.O's in age and service groups, following corresponding groups of service officers and men. The Bill passed through the Commons, but in the Lords the Tory peers demanded an amendment that C.O.'s should not be released from industries covered by Essential Works Orders. As most conditionally exempted C.O's are employed in agriculture, covered by such orders, this made nonsense of the whole Bill, but the government climbed down on the first open challenge by the Lords, and accepted the amendment. When it returned to the Commons, the only members to denounce this weak betrayal were the Liberals. Now the ironical situation of conditionally exempted C.O's is that, while those who have refused or evaded fulfilment of their condition will be released automatically, those who loyally submitted to tribunal decisions and performed their farm work will have to wait until the E.W.O's are lifted. Another lesson in the ingratitude of governments!

From these examples it will be seen that the Cabinet ministers are really little concerned with civil liberties, and

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certainly do not consider them worth a struggle with their permanent subordinates, whom they have no desire to alienate.

There is some opposition to this attitude in the ranks of the Labour Party, but so far it seems to be confined to indivdual M.P's and has found expression in no organised group.

INDEED, at present there is nothing in the way of a clearly defined "ginger" group on the Labour back benches. The old Leftist group, centred round the *Tribune* and led by Aneurin Bevan and G. R. Strauss, was effectively decapitated by the inclusion of these two steady critics of the Coalition in the ministerial ranks.

Bevan was given Cabinet rank with the Ministry of Health. So far he has failed to make any spectacular success of his office, but it must be granted that Attlee has dealt with him in the same clever way as the Tories dealt with the Labour ministers in the Coalition, by giving him a difficult post in which circumstances would make it hard for him to shine. The two principal issues with which he has to deal are the measure for nationalising the medical services, which will certainly not be initiated without much friction, and the housing programme. The latter has so far shown very poor results, and Bevan has been subjected to criticism from all sides. In justice, it must be said that he is faced with an extremely difficult job, because he is largely dependent on two other departments, the Ministry of Works and the Ministry of Labour, as well as on the local authorities, for getting any practical results. In such a tangle of departmental interests, it is small wonder that little is achieved.

The present danger to the building programme is the sudden diminution of the brick supply, due to shortage of labour in the brickworks. This is very unpleasant work, and the pay—a minimum rate of £4.2.0 (17 dollars) a week—is low by present industrial standards. Because of this, very few demobilised men are entering the industry, and the supply of bricks is less than a third of the anticipated consumption by the middle of the year, while stocks are down to below two months' needs. All this, one would have thought, could have been foreseen, but it is only now that a move is being made to raise the brickmakers' wages to a reasonable standard.

As for the general building situation, at the end of February there were only 53,000 houses under construction—out of the four millions needed for an efficient rehousing of the British people. As I have said before, in all this Bevan is very much the slave of circumstances. On the other hand, he has shown no great initiative in surmounting his difficulties, and his attitude towards the discontented building workers was not as friendly as one might have expected from a former "extremist". Whatever his future career, I do not think it will again be as a leader of the Labour left.

The Tribune itself has maintained nominal independence of the official government line, but the arrival of Labour to power was obviously embarrassing to a paper which had built its reputation on acute political criticism. At first its tone became very flat. Since then a degree of independent criticism has returned, but the general level of discussion remains much lower than in the days when Churchill provided an Aunt Sally for its writers to attack at will.

If a definite grouping emerges on the Labour back benches, it is likely to be one of pacifists and near pacifists, who form a good proportion of the lesser-known Labour M.P's. The two main issues on which it will probably unite are civil liberties and military service. It may be quite large in numbers—estimates of the number of Labour M.P's opposed to continued conscription run as high as 80 to 100 and this tendency has support even among some of the junior ministers. But it is unlikely to follow the lines or be built around the leading figures of the old Bevan-Strauss "ginger" group.

Outside the Labour Party, the little sects are having a thin time. The ordinary workers find it difficult, yet at any rate, to see the difference between the government brand of "socialism" and those peddled by the other left parties. The I.L.P. has just failed once again to enter the Labour Party, and is losing influence everywhere but in Scotland. The Communists are suffering from the current distrust of Russia. The Trotskyists have talked themselves into almost complete isolation, and the remaining left factions are engaged more busily on the old revolutionary game of fratricidal strife than in attacking any real social problem.

A FEW interesting political issues remain, which I can only touch lightly. There has been a revealing *volte-face* on the Indian question. At the time of the elections India was a subject of no interest, and was either ignored or given the most perfunctory treatment at Labour meetings. But the Indians themselves have suddenly set India on the map, and since the disturbances there, the ruling class of England has reached almost complete unanimity on the subject, so that we had the astounding spectacle of Tory speakers agreeing with the Labour ministers that the Indians must be allowed to contract out of the Empire if they wish to do so!

In other parts of the Empire, however, the attitude of the Labour spokesmen shows a reactionary harshness which renders suspect their apparent generosity towards the Indians. Recently, for instance, there was the strange situation in the House of Commons of a Tory member demanding better conditions for the colonial workers, while the Labour Under-Secretary for Colonies defended the existing West Indian practice of flogging for theft and other crimes.

As a last item, while I have been writing this letter the Budget news has come through. If you are interested, you will already have read the main outline from your newspapers, and if you are not, then you will only be bored with most of the details of another country's budget. But one point struck me as sufficiently important to underline. The death duties on inherited property, formerly levied on all estates over £100, now become operative only at £2,000, and on estates between £2,000 and £7,500 are reduced to half their former amount. This is a clear indication of the close affiliation between the Labour Government and the middle classes. The people to benefit will not be the manual workers, who do not often leave more than £100, but the host of clerks, shopkeepers, doctors, parsons, lawyers, farmers, who voted Labour for the first time last year and whom the Labour Party is anxious to keep and transform into the main bulwark of its authority. It is recorded that at the election there was a far wilder enthusiasm shown for the Labour cause among the converts of the bourgeois suburbs than in the solid working class areas. Today the newly-won zealots are beginning to earn their reward.

London, April 9, 1946. GEORGE WOODCOCK

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Germany 1946. Some Impressions

The Pilots

Our first peacetime Germans, two pilots who come on board to take us into W. The whole crew lines the rail as they come alongside and watches. Everyone seems tense—the simple business of pilotage acquires the hushed dignity of a surrender. Even the simpler-minded ones among the crew who fifteen minutes earlier had shouted their "achtungs" and "heils" at each other now wait with strained seriousness. The pilots climb over the side and jump lightly down on deck. Both are small blondish men with rather Slavic features. They smile hurriedly at the men standing nearest them, say "Good morning," then flee into the passageway leading to the captain's office. The obeisance over, someone mimics the "gut" of their greeting and we all relax.

An hour later in the saloon both pilots are drinking coffee. One is leafing through an old copy of *Life* lying on the table. Both half rise as they see me in the doorway, smile rather guiltily and wish me "Good morning". I sit down and have a cup of coffee with them. At first they answer some questions with polite evasiveness. "No, conditions are still bad. There has been little improvement since the Allies first took over." Gradually their attitude becomes more brusque, suspicious. What am I leading up to? Finally one of them abruptly asks me whether I have any cigarettes, clothes or soap to sell. When I answer no, they look surprised and disappointed. Their attitude implies: why has he shown such hypocritical interest if not simply to prepare the way for a little "deal".

The Children

At the locks. We will have to remain there overnight. A new pilot is on board, a large elderly man with a flowing Kaiser Wilhelm mustache, looking more authentically German than the previous pilots. As it grows dark, twenty-five to thirty children come running from the streets and houses near the locks and gather on a bank near the ship. As they play and shout we watch them, charmed by their pleasant, shrill voices, by the awkwardness of the warmly bundled two and three year olds. Occasionally one looks up and shouts a hello. Soon someone throws them a candy bar. Others follow suit and in a few minutes there is a stream of candy bars and leftover cakes from the galley falling to the bank. The children yelling "Thank you! Thank you!" gather them up and distribute them equitably amongst themselves. The pilot, beaming, stands with the captain on the wing of the bridge and watches them. Then like a schoolmaster he shouts, "Habt Ihr alle eins?"

"Ja, Wir haben alle eins!" the children shout back in chorus waving their candy bars.

In a reflex of excited irony—perhaps also from a compulsive craving to hear a denial from the pilot—one of the engineers calls out, "Hitler's Jugend!" The pilot, overhearing, solemnly shakes his huge head back and forth. Whether in sadness or as a gesture of denial, I can not tell.

The Town of W

Past the gates of the dock area guarded by American MPs. There is a long line of dock workers patiently waiting their turn to be searched. With my American pass, I walk out without difficulty. I turn toward the center of town. At first sight W is not different from the other devastated towns I have seen in Europe. The same endless blocks of smashed buildings, the same bewildering processions of shabby men and women. But, unlike the rest of Europe, nowhere does one see the reflectant symbols of disaffection, of revolt. Where are the vivid leftist slogans that one saw painted on walls throughout France and Italy? And the pamphlets and party programs that cluttered the newsstands of those countries? Even the werewolf symbol of the Nazi underground that one occasionally runs across—a man in a black cape with his arms threateningly outstretched—is a relic of the days just previous to the collapse.

★

In the shops some camera parts, stationary, cheap toys, ashtrays and ornaments made from shell casings. The shopkeeper's indifference to sales—what can he do with the Marks? A few hole-in-the-wall rental libraries where people slip in furtively as if for an assignation. A long queue of solemn people in front of the lone cinema.

During an afternoon the dreariness of the town seeps through one like a hard, persistent rain.

★

American soldiers come daily aboard the ship asking exorbitant prices for the cameras, binoculars, pistols, etc. they have looted.

★

At a concert given in a local school auditorium. Despite the wooden benches and the chill of the unheated building, the auditorium is quickly filled. The program consists of Beethoven and some Mozart. We find the performance rather perfunctory and dull. Perhaps it's the coldness of the hall. But for the concert's duration the audience remains almost motionless. No one whispers. No one coughs or rustles their programs. No one squirms on the hard wooden benches. (W., the steward, later claims he saw a bug crawling undisturbed for five minutes on a man's neck.) On the way back to the ship we discuss this behavior. Is it another manifestation of German "discipline?" Or does it simply show an intense, if severe, devotion to music? W. believes the former. In Italy, he asserts, the audience is equally devoted to music. But their response to a performance is much more enthusiastic and uninhibited. In Germany, he claims, music, like all the arts, has now become a desiccated ritual of correct taste.

★

One night we visit the only cabaret open in W. A dingy place jammed with G.I.s and their frauleins, German sailors from a nearby base, American merchant seamen. We sit down at the only available table. Two women in their late thirties sitting there. Eventually we get into a conversation, some chit-chat about the bad taste of the beer, the length of our trip. One of the women compliments me on my knowledge of German. Later she casually mentions that one of her good friends, Jewish dentist with the American Army, is one of the few Americans she knows who also speaks German well. Is this meant to be a subtle reassurance that she harbors no prejudice against my nationality? I say nothing and we turn and watch the show. It is de-

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pressing. A few husky maidens in faded costumes gracelessly kicking their legs in unison. We look away and sip the unpleasant beer. She asks intimately, in a tone of martyrdom, "Why have the Americans brought so many nigger troops to Germany?" I feel horribly tense as I reply, "What is wrong with the Negro troops?" She does not answer. A sly smile comes to her face. She stares at me and nods her head slowly, significantly, as if she has just confirmed an old smoldering suspicion. For a moment I am bewildered by her expression. Then with a shock I realize what is passing through her mind. I am a Jew and didn't the conspiracy of international Jewry demand the defilement of German women by negroes? Hadn't this been pounded into German skulls for years? And now here was confirmation of this truth, for what other reason could there possibly be in my trying to defend what was so obviously indefensible! I feel sickened. I control a frightful impulse to smash my hand across that stupid, bovine face nodding triumphantly at me across the table. My hand is trembling as I squash my cigarette, nudge my two shipmates, and say it's about time we go.

★

(It is important not to forget that the Racial chauvinism of many Germans is confirmed and strengthened by the attitude and behavior of American troops to their own minorities within the occupation forces. It is not necessarily true, as our newspapers assert, that the 'frauleins' are infecting our troops with Nazi ideas. They were infected with them years before they met up with any 'fraulein'.)

★

Two repairmen sent down by the W.S.A. to do some work on the wireless equipment. We discuss our war experiences. I tell of my convoy experience, of ships torpedoed near me. One of the repairmen nods his head sympathetically and tells me of the hundreds drowned when his transport was sunk by Russian dive bombers. Almost automatically I too begin to nod my head sympathetically. Then I remember that he was an enemy and the attacker of his ship an ally. I must remember to keep my sympathies within strict national boundaries.

★

The pathetic gratitude expressed for a meal. "Gosh, it's like my birthday today," one of the repairmen says after I ask them to join me for a very ordinary meal. The embarrassment of offering a grown man some chocolate bars. "Something for your children," you say, as if it were a pleasant luxury instead of the staple you know it will become in the family's next meal.

★

An incident in the saloon. While at dinner a girl "runner" who works for the W.S.A. comes in with a message for the captain. The captain, knowing her rather well from the office, invites her to have dinner with us. As she thanks him and prepares to sit down, the army lieutenant in charge of unloading our cargo, his face flushed, pushes his plate forward and asks ominously, "Captain, do you know there is a regulation about not permitting Germans to eat on board?" We listen, stunned. The captain, his face livid, shouts, "I know of no such regulation! Don't you dare tell me whom I may or may not have on board for dinner!" The lieutenant rises and shouts back, "Captain, I've been in the front lines for eight months and I'll be damned if I'll sit down at the same table with a German!" He stalks out of the room. "Come Elsa, sit down and have your dinner," the captain says, "don't let that goddam ass disturb you." But the girl thoroughly frightened shakes her head, "No thanks captain, I don't think I should. I'm not very hungry and I might get into a lot of trouble." She leaves. We sit there and finish our meal in silence.

(Later I run across the lieutenant on the wharf. He smiles sheepishly at me, then he says, "I can't understand your skipper. Why is he so big hearted to these Germans? It's especially surprising coming from one of his nationality (the captain is Jewish)". He adds, "I've been here quite a while and I know these Krauts pretty well. Once you begin treating them soft you lose their respect and they begin walking all over you.")

The Social Democrats

At the Social Democratic headquarters. An atmosphere of heroic statement and unheroic fact. The secretary, a woman in her early thirties, states oratorically, "You have been fighting Hitlerism for four years but remember we have been fighting him for twelve." I ask, impressed, whether she had been in a concentration camp. No, she admits, she hadn't, but she almost had. When she had a dispute with her employer about saying good morning instead of heil Hitler.

She then gives me a few items of information. Not much different from the reports I had been reading in the American press. The party is growing; it already has over 800 members in town. Yes, the old burgomeister is a Social Democrat. But plenty of Nazis still floating about and "all working for the American government!" Yes, the old brush-off when they reported these Nazis to the military government: "It's none of your business whom we have working for us." Then there's the petty, stupid restrictions on meetings, on the party press.

She is interrupted by a doddering old man who has come in to pay his party dues. (The average age of those who come into the office is well over fifty.) I continue my conversation with a man in a green hat who is standing nearby. He tells me about the Communists—they are small but active. He sighs, "They are a big nuisance. Before Hitler they caused a lot of trouble with their strikes and demonstrations."

Before I leave I ask if they have any message or mail they want me to take back to the States. There is a hurried consultation. They have been out of touch with the American socialist movement for nearly 12 years. Finally they reach a decision. The secretary announces, "Yes we do have a message for you to take back. Soon after Hitler took over, one of our comrades left for America. He took along with him the flag of our local and the last we've heard the flag was in possession of the New York Social Democratic Party. Please when you return, tell them to send us back our flag."

Displaced Persons

As we look out at the park through the windows of his warm, comfortable office, Herr K. quietly gives me some statistics about the Jews of B. In this city of over 300,000 people there are only about 100 Jews left. Of these almost half are only part Jewish—their Aryan parent or grandparent being one of the reasons for their survival. The others are recent refugees from Poland and central Europe. I listen, half incredulous, as he calmly recounts individual instances of terrorism that have occurred *since* the "liberation". Later he takes me for a tour through the building showing me the synagogue, the reading room, the kitchen and store room. He introduces me to a group of pleasant, warm people who make up his staff. I question one, Frau Doktor C. who is employed as housekeeper. She tells me about her family. Her husband, a physician, had been

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killed in a concentration camp. Her parents she hasn't heard from in years and assumes that they too have been killed. Then she questions me about America. Is there any possibility of getting in? "Please understand," she says, "we are grateful for the food and clothing they send us from America. Our physical existence here is now fairly secure. But this is no real life. Here our long years of training, our talents, are worth nothing. We must put our talents to use!"

She continues more indignantly, "We live from package to package. Is that life? And how long can that go on? Two years, four years, five years? How long can they go on supporting us in charity?"

I ask naively if with her training and degree there isn't a possibility of her finding a position in some German school or university. She laughs scornfully, "a Jewess find a position in a German university!" She becomes silent. I feel uncomfortable and rise to leave. Her eyes are blank, her voice terrible as she mutters, "the earth here is drenched with our blood. This is a vile, accursed land. There is no future for us here."

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"They knew, the whole nation knew what was going on in the concentration camps." "The Germans may have disagreed with many of Hitler's policies but 95% approved of his antisemitic program." How many times do I hear these statements! But how accurate are they? The judgement of the DPs is twisted with bitterness. Understandably. Nevertheless this tormenting fantasy presents itself each time I meet a German, a fantasy of "responsibility":—

I have escaped from a "death camp". I knock frantically at the door of this person who is now speaking to me so frankly, so disarmingly. I beg to be sheltered. I plead my capture means death. Then, reverting to the present, I ask myself, would he have turned me in? But the question is too 'loaded'. In most cases I believe the answer would be yes. I must rephrase my question:- if he would have betrayed me would it be primarily because of a fear of reprisals or would it be because he approved of the policy of extermination?

It is a frightful, poisoning question.

★

I pass a person dressed like a workman in the street and ask the way to the railroad station. He says he will show me. As we pass some bomb shattered buildings he asks with heavy irony, "Nun, was denken Sie von unserm schoenen Deutschland?" I shrug my shoulders. "Die Nazi Schweine!" he bursts out. When we reach the station I offer him some cigarettes. Later when I relate this incident to W. he mockingly suggests that the man probably says "Die Nazi Schweine" to every American he meets in the hope of cadging some smokes. I do not believe so. Most Germans are quite frank about expressing their political views even when it puts them in an uncomplimentary light.

Last Night in Germany

We have shifted to this small town of N to load ballast. This is the last night in port but no one has gone ashore. The story circulates that women are coming aboard. Everybody waits. About seven in the evening an accordionist and guitarist come on board and start playing in the crew's mess room. Some small boys from the neighborhood board the ship and sit down beside the seamen listening to the music. A few women come on board and seat themselves with the others. Two or three carry shopping bags. The crew stares solemnly at them, occasionally offers one a cup of coffee. No one says much. Then more women come aboard more shopping bags. A few of the more enterprising seamen have in the meanwhile disappeared into their forecastles with the more attractive women. A sailor opens up a bottle of whiskey and passes drinks around. The party gets noisier. From the forecastles comes an occasional shriek of laughter. Someone calls, keep it quiet or the skipper will come down and chase them all the hell off.

About midnight the German police arrive. They politely tell the captain that the women must leave the ship. They knock on the doors of the forecastles and the women step out looking sullen and bedraggled. Some have filled their shopping bags. But many have managed to cull no more than a few cakes of soap or some candy bars.

The next morning at breakfast someone remarks, "It's pretty damn tough when they're forced to come on ships like these in order to scrape together enough for themselves and their families."

The person sitting next to him shrugs his shoulders impatiently. "I'm sorry but my heart doesn't bleed for them. If they haven't any food it's their tough luck. They started this damn war, didn't they?"

The debate is still going on.

JULIAN ASH

The Department of Antiagriculture

Letters to and from a Bureaucracy

EDITOR'S NOTE: After reading our "Comment" in the March issue on the Truman Administration's bungling of the wheat supply, Broadus Mitchell, labor economist and Acting Chairman of the Post-War World Council, sent us the correspondence he has had over the past two years with various officials in the Department of Agriculture. The exchange seemed to us so interesting and revealing that we got his permission to print as much of it as we liked. As will be seen, Dr. Mitchell is a most determined, well-informed and far-sighted citizen. It is unfortunate, for the peoples of Europe, that the government officials he so patiently needled apparently possessed only the first of the above qualities.

The following compilation was made by Terence Donaghue.

WHY CUT PRODUCTION WHEN PEOPLE STARVE?

Almost two years ago, when proper planning for postwar rehabilitation was still possible, *The New York Times* carried in its July 26, 1944 issue a report that the Department of Agriculture wanted to institute restrictions of agricultural output. The report said that "basic in the viewpoint of the agricultural officials is the protection of their own democratic price program which in turn has been based from the beginning on *price stabilization through restriction of production.* Apparently the agricultural policy

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makers would like to see *all countries* join in such programs to hold prices on key commodities." (My emphasis—T. D.) Mr. Mitchell thereupon initiated his correspondence by writing to Dr. Moredecai Ezekiel of the Dept. of Agriculture that " My instinct is to protest against this policy of fastening on the post-war world the scarcity ideas and practises which the A.A.A. stood for . . . Doesn't the post-war world have to be built on ample production, since there will always be starving people?"

Ezekiel replied on July 31, 1944, insisting that the policy of the Dept. of Agriculture favors expanded production and that *The New York Times* did not "reflect at all fully either the attitude of this Department or of the Administration toward the necessity of post-war expansion in both industry and agriculture if we, or any other nation are to continue prosperity after the war." But said Ezekiel, "while expansion is needed the world would be healthiest if that expansion is planned and balanced so as to fit best with the expanded demand." It should be noted, however, that he did not deny the report that food production for the following year was to be cut. It should also be noted that Ezekiel is an eminent New Deal intellectual, who exudes statistics and goodwill on every occasion except when it makes any difference.

The then Secretary of the Department, Claude Wickard, also answered Mitchell on August 22, 1944: "This department is in favor of international commodity agreements which can be used as a positive force to expand consumption and trade in farm products . . . The Department is entirely in sympathy with the Hot Springs declaration in support of an economy of abundance . . ."

(Note that Mr. Mitchell had raised the question of *domestic agricultural production levels* in relation to international agreements for post-war relief. Both Dr. Ezekiel and Sec'y Wickard, while favoring international agreements, did not answer Mitchell's query about *domestic production.*)

ARE EGGS NEEDED TO FEED PEOPLE OR TO PROVIDE "FAIR PRICES"?

Almost a year later, Mr. Mitchell noticed an item in the September 25, 1945 issue of *The New York Times* which reported still further production restrictions in agriculture for 1946—*the year of food crisis for the whole world.* He wrote to Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson: "I was depressed to see the report in *The New York Times* of your approval of restricting agricultural output for 1946. I had nothing further than the newspaper account but it said that, among other food and fibers, you would have to control the output of eggs. It seems to me lamentable that we should greet peacetime as calling for artificial scarcity . . . I would like to express my hearty regret for 'agricultural adjustments' which I strongly suspect means net reduction of utilities."

Secretary Anderson replied to Mitchell a few days later:

"It is true that I made statements to members of the American Farm Bureau Federation indicating (1) that the Department of Agriculture and the War Food Administration had generally and quite properly encouraged farmers to produce as much of the several agricultural products as was possible so long as we were engaged in war, and (2) that we are now faced with the problem of helping farmers to realize and carry through the shifts that are needed in order to keep their production in line with what consumers in the United States and our foreign customers want . . ."

Those familiar with bureaucratic jargon will see that by the very juxtaposition of points (1) and (2) above, Anderson was implying a cut in agricultural production, as is further shown by the fact that he based his production perspective not upon the threatening famine but rather upon what "consumers want"—that is to say, can pay for. This was made even clearer in another section of the letter: " . . . it seems only reasonable to me that if we have recently been producing more dry peas or more peanuts or more eggs than *can be marketed at a fair price during the year ahead* that the farmers' attention should be called to this and that they should be encouraged to shift to other lines of production which would keep their output better in line with current consumer and foreign demand. . . . American consumers would probably prefer that dairy farmers supply them with more cream and butter next year rather than continue the production of condensed and evaporated milk at an extremely high level . . . " (My emphasis—T. D.)

NOTE: Condensed milk is a major and convenient item for overseas food relief, while cream and butter are used exclusively for commercial purposes.

ON THE IMBECILE DESTRUCTION OF FOOD

Mr. Mitchell replied to Secretary Anderson on October 17, 1945.

"The Department of Agriculture has so long committed itself to a policy of artificial scarcity that I was disturbed. I believe that very much may be done by increasing the purchasing power of the masses of the American people—that is to say, the workers—so as to absorb what you now regard as surplus. Even under present conditions when so many parts of the world are in abject hunger and nakedness, I wonder whether your Department can't work out positive plans for supplying American superabundance to those ruined by the war . . . Just as the Food Stamp Plan and the Surplus Commodities Corporation took the place of earlier imbecilic destruction of food while people were starving in this country, why not now work out a scheme of systematic exports to hungry mouths and bare backs abroad? Does our care for international well-being end with fine words, or can it express itself very tangibly in food, clothing, and many raw materials which, by your own profession, are a burden to us, but would be a boon to others?"

Seven months later, Herbert Lehman was to charge that the government had pursued "faulty planning and unrealistic measures" in the face of the "known threat of mass starvation to two-thirds of the world's people." Mr. Mitchell had his questions answered more directly, however, by one of Secretary Anderson's aides, O. V. Wells, Chief Program Analyst of the Department, who wrote on October 23, 1945 that:

". . . the question as to how much food shall be shipped and the arrangements under which it will be handled is not a question which will be answered by the Secretary of Agriculture himself but involves other officials and agencies in this government as well as officials and agencies in the several foreign countries concerned . . . I assume you are also aware that President Truman has asked Congress to appropriate an additional $550,000,000 for UNRRA which is mentioned in this statement."

Let us again recall that Mr. Mitchell wrote nothing at all about "how food shall be shipped" or anything related to that problem, but merely on the question of the productive level of American agriculture. For even an appropriation to UNRRA of 10 times the amount suggested by

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President Truman could not produce eggs where they have not been laid, or vegetables where they have not been grown.

Mr. Mitchell, on October 31, replied to Mr. Wells:

"Since your letter was written, there have been renewed appearances in the newspapers of the intent of the Department of Agriculture to restrict production of certain prime essentials for diet. Every day the appalling plight of the European populations, especially the children, appeals to our pity . . . Permit me to say that I did not discover in the release you sent me or in your letter such an original and perservering intent by the Department of Agriculture to make American surplus available to starving people in the rest of the world as I could wish to find. Perhaps I am ignorant of your good intent . . ."

The reply of the Chief Program Analyst, dated November 2, is in the grand bureaucratic tradition. We reprint it in full:

"This will acknowledge your letter of October 31. In case you should be in Washington in the near future and so desire, I should be very glad to have you call me and it might be that we could get together and discuss some of the questions which you have raised in your correspondence with Secretary Anderson and your letter of October 31. My telephone extension is 5115, U. S. Department of Agriculture."

WHY CUT PRODUCTION OF EGGS, POTATOES, AND BEANS?

Mr. Mitchell bided his time until he came across a release from the Department of Agriculture dated January 15, 1946, which reported on food production plans for 1946. While increases in production plans were listed for certain items, cuts were scheduled for such as basic food items as potatoes (from 2,896 thousand acres to 2,780); eggs (from 4,577 million dozen to 3,910 million dozen); chickens (from 821,353 to 680,000); dry beans (from 1,517 thousand acres to 1,405). The release further contained the revealing statement: "Combined state recommendations would have totaled more than national suggested goals for peanuts (for edible purposes), *potatoes* and burley tobacco. Since the national suggestions for these crops were at maximum levels *in view of prospective demand* . . . states are being asked to revise their recommendations, (i.e., to lower their production quotas—T. D.) so that growers may plan their operations in accordance with the final national goals."

Thereupon Mr. Mitchell began his last round of letters. On February 15, 1946 he wrote to Secretary Anderson: "Some time ago I wrote you protesting against plans as announced in the newspapers for limiting the output of certain important farm products, particularly in view of the needs of a hungry world. You and, later, Mr. Wells wrote me trying to quiet my fears. They were not quieted, and I write now to inquire whether the Department is still intending to restrict the output of eggs, potatoes and other items which were published on your list."

On February 21 of this year, the Department of Agriculture, stunned into a realization of the desperate situation, belatedly proposed an upward revision of food production quotas, by no means adequate to the needs of the situation but higher than previous quotas. On the basis of this *revised* perspective, another of Secretary Anderson's men—H. A. Fitzgerald, director of the Office of Requirements and Allocations—took up the cudgels in a letter dated February 15, 1946 in which he outlined the new quotas but did not acknowledge that they represented either a partial shift from the old production plan or a hasty revision of the first plan drawn up for 1946.

In his final letter of March 13, 1946 Mr. Mitchell wrote to Secretary Anderson:

"Mr. Fitzgerald sends me a release from your office of February 21, which says that one of the crops which is now to be increased in view of the starvation in many parts of the world is dry edible peas. Mr. Fitzgerald tells me that others on the list for increased acreage are wheat, rye, rice, dry beans, oil crops and feed grains. I cannot help calling your attention to a report in *The New York Times* as recent as January 6, 1946 summarizing a report of your Department entitled 'High-level Food Consumption in the United States.' It is reported in the *Times* that you saw 'the possibility of market-demoralizing surpluses of such foods as flour and cereals, eggs, butter and fats, tomatoes and citrus fruits, dry beans and peas, nuts and potatoes and sweet potatoes.' The report goes on to say that even the high level of consumption in the United States was not expected to prevent burdensome surpluses.

"Just about a month before the President announced that we must conserve grains and other foods for the sake of starving Europe, the Department of Agriculture was announcing a program for restriction of these very articles. You have now turned about and plan to increase the production of most of these. I refer you particularly to peas and dry beans and cereals which you wanted to cut down on. I press the matter because when I wrote you my original protest, you were a little patronizing in your reply. We all make mistakes. I am at a loss to understand how your Department with its sources of information could be so perfectly wrong in its estimates."

POSTSCRIPT ON EASTER EGGS

We close our report on Mr. Mitchell's correspondence by printing a postcard he lately mailed—not this time to the Department of Agriculture which must be thoroughly weary of the mere mention of his name—but to the office of POLITICS:

"You noticed Truman said no Easter Egg hunt on White House grounds because eggs needed in Europe. Yet eggs were a must on the reductions list of Sec'y Anderson very recently."

SOCIETY COLUMN

Jacob L. (Jakie) Webb has shocked his Vanderbilt relatives ever since he was a boy in rompers. . . . He is now in the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. . . . His present wife, Lenore Lemmon, still shudders when she recalls the day of her wedding when she discovered Jakie was tatooed from head to foot.

—Social note in "N.Y.World-Telegram", March 26.

NO WONDER THE WORLD IS COCKEYED

(1)

As the presidential train rolled west, Winston Churchill fiddled with his speech. . . . According to his custom, before dinner he rapidly downed five Scotch highballs. . . . He rode into Fulton, Mo., delivered his speech. . . . His valet slipped him a slug of brandy to reinforce him. . . . The next afternoon . . . dinner with Mr. Rockefeller and General Eisenhower: crabmeat, terrapin, . . . ice cream, cigars and on the side, sherry, champagne, brandies, liqueurs.

—"Time", March 18.

(2)

Washington, D.C., is the distillers darling. Allied Liquor Industries, Inc., has reported that, in the wartime and liquor-shortage year of 1944, 16 quarts went down the hatch for every man, woman and child living in the District of Columbia. This contrasts rather sharply with the national per-capita figure of five quarts for that year. The 1945 figures may be even more curious.

—article on Washington in "The Saturday Evening Post", March 23.

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Ancestors (3)

TOLSTOY

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Everybody reads Tolstoy's novels, and most people know about his "Tales and Parables" and his longer philosophical works like "What Is Art?" But Tolstoy also left several volumes of miscellaneous essays which are not as widely known as they should be, and which are amazingly to the point today. These are articles, open letters, pamphlets. Such topical material often seems pretty dull fifty years later, but Tolstoy was able to bring out, with marvelous clarity and directness, the general issues involved in the particular instance. His greatest faults, in this kind of writing, are diffuseness and repetition; but with a certain amount of cutting, his articles on war and non-resistance would be more persuasive than anything else I know in pacifist literature. Some one should issue a pamphlet volume of them. It would be of the greatest usefulness.*

Some of Tolstoy's ideas seem to me absurd, as his theories about art and his obsession with the evils of drink. Nor can I go along with the religious sentiment that he considered the heart of his values. But most of what he says seems to be wonderfully to the point today, in the age of atomic fission and bureaucratic collectivism. The two essays reprinted below—complete except for the omission of two disgressions in the second, indicated by dots—get right to the heart of the question which is now being discussed in POLITICS. *In them Tolstoy appears as an extraordinary "journalist of ideas", able to treat philosophical problems with an unpretentious simplicity which would make, I should think, his point clear to any one who can read; and this he does without lowering at all the intellectual level of his treatment. Only a great moral teacher can be at once so simple and so subtle.*

Modern Science

INTRODUCTION TO A RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF EDWARD CARPENTER'S ESSAY, "MODERN SCIENCE"

I THINK that Carpenter's essay on Modern Science * may be especially useful to our Russian society, where, more than in any other in Europe, is spread the superstitious belief that, for the good of humanity, it is not at all necessary to propagate true religious and moral knowledge, but only to study the experimental sciences, and that a knowledge of these sciences will satisfy all the spiritual demands of humanity.

It is obvious what a pernicious influence (similar to that of religious superstitions) such a crude superstition must have on the moral life of men, and therefore the dissemination of the thoughts of writers who critically examine the results and methods of the experimental sciences is especially desirable in our society.

Carpenter proves that neither astronomy, nor physics, nor chemistry, nor biology, nor sociology gives us a true knowledge of actual facts, but that all the "laws" discovered by these sciences are only generalizations, which have but an approximate value as laws, and that only owing to ignorance or disregard of other factors. Further, that even these laws appear to be laws to us only because we discover them in a domain so distant from us in time and space that we cannot perceive their want of correspondence with actual fact.

Besides this, Carpenter also points out that the method of science, consisting in the explanation of phenomena near and important to us by phenomena more distant from and indifferent to us, is a false method which can never lead to the desired results.

"Each science," he says, "has been (as far as possible) reduced to its lowest terms. Ethics has been made a question of utility and inherited experience. Political economy has been exhausted of all conceptions of justice between man and man, of charity, affection, and the instinct of solidarity; and has been founded on its lowest discoverable factor, namely, self-interest. Biology has been denuded of the force of personality in plants, animals, and men; the "self" here has been set aside, and the attempt made to reduce the science to a question of chemical and cellular affinities, protoplasm, and the laws of osmose. Chemical affinities, again, and all the wonderful phenomena of physics are emptied down into a flight of atoms; and the flight of atoms (and of astronomic orbs as well) is reduced to the laws of dynamics. . . ."

It is supposed that to reduce higher questions to terms of lower ones will explain the higher. But this explanation is never attained, and what happened is that, descending lower and lower in its investigations, from the most essential questions to those less essential, science at last reaches a domain quite foreign to man, and only adjacent to him, to which domain it confines its attention, leaving without any solution all questions most important for man.

What occurs is something similar to what the result would be if a man, desiring to understand the nature of an object before him, should, instead of approaching it, examining it on all sides, and handling it, remove farther and farther from it, finally removing to such a distance that all details of color and unevenness of surface should disappear, and there remained only the outline which detached it from the horizon. And from such a distance the man might begin to describe this object in detail, imagining that he has now a clear understanding of it, and that this idea, conceived at such a distance, would contribute to a complete understanding of the object. This self-delusion is partly exposed by Carpenter's criticism, which, in the first place points out that the knowledge science gives us in the sphere of natural science consists only of convenient modes of generalization, which by no means express actual facts; and secondly, that the method of science by which the phenomena of a higher order are reduced to the phenomena of a lower order, will never enable us to arrive at an explanation of the phenomena of the higher order.

But without settling beforehand the question whether the method of the experimental sciences can or cannot achieve

* "Modern Science: A Criticism". In *Civilization, its Cause and Cure, and other Essays*, by Edward Carpenter. London, 1889.

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a solution of the problems of life most important for humanity, the activity itself of the experimental sciences, considered in relation to the eternal and most legitimate demands of humanity, impresses one by its fallacy.

Men must live. And in order to live they must know how to live. All men always—well or ill—have learnt this and in accordance with their knowledge, have lived and progressed. And this knowledge of how men should live has always, since the times of Moses, Solon, Confucius, been considered a science—the very science of sciences; and it is only in our time that it has begun to be considered that the science of how to live is not a science at all, but that true science is only experimental science, beginning with mathematics and ending with sociology.

And a strange misunderstanding ensues.

A simple and sensible working-man—according to the old sense and common sense as well—supposes that if there are men studying all their lives, and who think for him in return for being fed and provided for by him, then these men are probably engaged in studying what is needful for man, and he expects from science that it will solve for him those questions on which depend his welfare and that of all men. He expects that science will teach him how to live; how to act toward the members of his own family, his neighbors, and those of other countries; how to struggle with his passions; in what he should and should not believe, and much besides. And what does our science reply?

It triumphantly announces how many millions of miles the sun is from the earth, with what rapidity light traverses space, how many millions of undulations of the ether a second are produced by light, and how many undulations of atmosphere by sound; it tells of the chemical composition of the Milky Way; it tells of a new element, helion, of micro-organisms and their excrements, of the points in the hand where electricity concentrates, of X-rays, and so on.

"But all this is not at all what I am in need of knowing," says the simple, sensible man. "I want to know how to live."

"I don't care what you are in need of knowing," replies science, "what you ask for refers to sociology. But before answering questions of sociology we must settle questions of zoölogy, botany, physiology—in short, biology. And in order to settle these questions it is first necessary to solve questions of physics, of chemistry; it is necessary also to agree as to the form of the infinitesimal atoms, and as to how it is that the ether with neither weight nor resistance transmits force."

And men, chiefly those who sit on the backs of others, and who can therefore conveniently wait, are satisfied by such answers, and continue sitting and yawning, awaiting what was promised. But the simple and sensible workingman, he on whose back the men studying science are sitting, the great mass of people, humanity at large, cannot be satisfied with such replies, and naturally ask in wonder, "But when will that be? We cannot wait. You yourselves say that you will find out all this after several generations. But we live, we are alive to-day and to-morrow we shall die, and therefore we must know how we are to live the life we are in now. Teach us, then."

"METANOEITE", change your conception of life, or you does not understand that what science serves is not utility but science. Science investigates that which is subject to investigation, and cannot choose the objects of its study. Science studies everything. Such is the nature of science."

Men of science are indeed convinced that the characteristic of attending to trifles and neglecting things more substantial and important is not their own characteristic, but that of science. But the simple, sensible man begins to suspect that this characteristic belongs, not to science, but to those who are inclined to occupy themselves with trifles, attaching to these trifles great importance.

"Science studies everything," say the men of science. But there is too much of everything. Everything means an infinite quantity of objects, and it is impossible to study all at once. As a lantern cannot light up everything but only the place it is directed toward, so also science cannot investigate everything, but inevitably investigates only that to which its attention is directed. And as the lantern throws the strongest light on the place nearest to it, weaker and weaker light on more remote objects, and does not light up at all those objects which its light cannot reach; so also human science, of whatever kind, has always investigated and is investigating in most detail that which appears to the investigators to be most important, studying in less detail what appears to them less important, and not at all concerning itself with all the remaining infinite quantity of objects.

The standard which has defined and defines for men the very important, the less important, and the unimportant is men's general understanding of the sense and object of life, *i.e.* religion.

But our modern men of science, not acknowledging any religion,—and therefore possessing no basis upon which they might select objects for study according to the degree of their importance, separating the most important from the less important, and from that vast number of objects which will always remain uninvestigated because of the limitations of the human mind and their infinite quantity,—have invented for themselves a theory of "science for science's sake," according to which science studies, not what is necessary to men, but everything.

Indeed, experimental science does study everything, only not in the sense of the totality of objects, but in the sense of disorder and chaos in the distribution of the investigated subjects, *i.e.* science does not most investigate what is most needed by men, less what is less needed, and not at all what is not needed, but investigates, haphazard, anything it comes across. Although there do exist classifications of the sciences by Comte and others, these classifications do not direct the choice of subjects for investigation, this being directed by human weaknesses inherent in men of science as in all men.

So that in reality experimental scientists do not, as they imagine and assert, study everything, but that which is more advantageous and easier for them to study. It is more advantageous to study what may contribute to the welfare of those higher classes to which the men occupied with science themselves belong, and it is easier to study things devoid of life. And this is what the investigators of experimental science do: they study books, monuments, and dead bodies, and this study they regard as the most real science.

So that what in our time is regarded as the true and only "science" (in the sense that the "Bible" was once

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called the only book worthy of the name) is not the investigation of how to make the life of men better and happier, but consists in collecting and copying out of many books into one what was written concerning a certain subject by former men, or in pouring liquids from one vial into another, in skilfully dissecting microscopic preparations, in cultivating bacteria, in cutting up frogs and dogs, in investigating the X-rays, the chemical composition of the stars, and so forth.

And all those sciences the object of which is to make human life better and happier—religious, moral, and social sciences—are not regarded as sciences by the reigning science, and are relegated to the theologians, philosophers, jurists, historians, and political economists, who are occupied, under the pretence of scientific investigation, only in proving that the existing order of life, which puts them in an advantageous position, is precisely the one which should exist, and should, therefore, not only not be reformed, but be maintained by all means.

Not to speak of theology, philosophy, and juris-prudence, very noticeable in this respect is the most fashionable of this kind of science—political economy. The political economy most widely spread (that of Marx), acknowledging the existing order of life to be normal, not only does not now require of men the reformation of this order, *i.e.* does not point out how men should live in order that their condition might be improved, but, on the contrary, demands the continuation of the cruelty of the present state of things in order that the more than doubtful prophecies of what will happen if men continue to live as badly as they do at present, should be realized.

And, as always happens, the lower a human activity descends, the farther it recedes from what it should be, the more its self-assertion increases. This has happened with the science of our time. True science has never been appreciated by its contemporaries, but, on the contrary, has for the most part been persecuted. And it could not be otherwise. True science indicates to men their errors, and points to new, unusual ways of life, both of which services are obnoxious to the ruling part of society. Whereas the present science not only refrains from counteracting the tastes and demands of the ruling part of society, but completely coincides with them; it satisfies idle curiosity, astonishes people, and promises them increase of pleasure. And so, whereas all that is truly great is quiet, modest, imperceptible, the science of our time knows no limits to its self-glorification.

"All former methods were erroneous, and thus all that was formerly regarded as science is fraudulent, fallacious, frivolous. Our method is the only true one, ours the only true science. The progress of our science is such that thousands of years have not attained what we have achieved in the last century. In the future by following in the same path, our science will solve all questions, and give happiness to all humanity. Our science is the most important activity in the world, and we men of science the most important and necessary men on earth."

So think and say the men of science of our time, and yet, seen in its full significance, no science in any age or nation has stood on so low a plane as the present one. One part of it, that which should study the means of making human life good and happy, is occupied in justifying the existing bad order of life, and the other is absorbed with the solution of questions of idle curiosity.

"How idle curiosity?" I hear exclaimed by voices indignant at such blasphemy. "How about steam, electricity, telephones, and all our technical improvements? Not to speak of their scientific importance, observe the practical results they have achieved. Man has conquered nature, subjected its forces to himself" . . . and so on.

"But," replies the simple and sensible man, "all the practical results of man's victory over nature from long ago up to the present, are applied to manufactures injurious to the people; to means for exterminating men, to increasing luxury, dissoluteness; and therefore, man's victory over nature has not increased the welfare of men, but, on the contrary, made their condition worse.."

If the organization of a society is bad, as ours is, where a small number of men dominate the majority and oppress them, then every victory over nature will inevitably only serve to increase this power and this oppression. And so it happens.

With a science taking as its subject, not the investigation of how people should live, but of what exists, and therefore occupied chiefly in investigating inanimate objects, and meanwhile leaving the organization of human society as it is,—with such science no improvements, no victories over nature, can improve the condition of men.

"And medical science? You forget its beneficial achievements. And inoculation with bacteria! And modern surgical operations!" generally exclaim the defenders of science, who, as their last resort, bring forward the successes of medicine in proof of the fruitfulness of all science.

"We can by inoculation prevent disease and cure it, we can perform painless operations, we can cut open and treat the vital organs of the body, we can straighten deformity," generally say the advocates of science, thinking somehow, that a child cured of diphtheria (one out of thousands of children who, in Russia, independently of diphtheria, average a death rate of 50 per cent and in foundling asylums 80 per cent) must convince people of the usefulness of science in general.

The order of our life is such that not only children, but the majority of adults, through bad food, heavy, injurious work, bad dwellings, bad clothes, and many hardships, do not live half so long as they should; it is such that children's diseases, syphilis, consumption, and alcoholism are getting a firmer and firmer hold of men, that a great part of the results of men's labor is taken from them for preparations for war, and that every ten or twenty years millions of men are exterminated by war. And all this occurs because science, instead of spreading amongst men correct religious, moral, and social ideas which would cause all these calamities to disappear of themselves, is occupied on the one hand with the justification of the existing order, and on the other hand with playthings. And in proof of the fruitfulness of science we are reminded that it cures one out of a thousand of those invalids who in reality become ill precisely because science does not fulfill its natural function.

If even a small portion of its efforts, of that attention and toil which science devotes to the trifles it is occupied with, had been directed toward the development amongst men of correct religious, moral, social, and even hygienic notions, there would not have occurred a hundredth part of

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those diphtherias, women's diseases, and deformities upon the curing of which science so prides itself, effecting these cures in hospitals, the luxurious appointments of which cannot be accessible to all.

It is just as if men who had badly ploughed a field and badly sown it with bad seed should walk on this field and treat some broken ears of corn, meanwhile trampling on the rest; and should then exhibit this art of treating the broken ears as a proof of their knowledge of agriculture.

Our science in order to become a science and to be really useful instead of harmful to humanity, must first of all renounce its experimental method, which causes it to consider as its business merely the study of what exists, and return to the only wise and fruitful understanding of science, according to which its subject is the investigation of how men must live. In this is the object and meaning of science, whereas, the investigation of what exists can be the subject of science only to the extent to which this investigation contributes to the knowledge of how men should live.

It is precisely this acknowledgment of the incompetency of experimental science and of the necessity of adopting another method that is expressed in Carpenter's essay.

(1898)

Stop and Think!

I

THE editor of a Paris review, thinking that the opinions of two celebrated writers on the state of mind of the present day would interest me, has sent me two extracts from French newspapers, one being a speech by M. Zola, delivered at the banquet of the General Students' Association, the other a letter from M. A. Dumas to the editor of the *Gaulois*.

These extracts did indeed interest me profoundly, both on account of their seasonableness and the renown of their authors, and because it would be difficult to find in current literature in a more succinct, vigorous, and brilliant form, an expression of the two fundamental forces, the resultant of which impels humanity along. I mean on the one hand the force of routine which tends to keep humanity in its present course, and on the other that of reason and love which impels it toward the light.

M. Zola disapproves of that faith in something vague and ill-defined which their new guides are recommending to the youth of France; and counsels them to believe in something which is neither clearer nor better defined, namely, science and work.

A little-known Chinese philosopher and founder of a religion named Lao-Tze (the first and best translation of whose book, "The Way of Virtue," is that by Stanislas Julien), takes as the foundation of his doctrine the "tao," a word meaning "reason," "way," "virtue." If men follow the law of "tao," they will be happy. But the "tao," according to M. Julien's translation, is only attainable by "not-acting."

All the ills besetting mankind arise, according to Lao-Tze, not from man's neglect to do what is necessary, but because he does what is unnecessary, so that if men would practise what he calls "not-acting," they would be rid not only of their personal calamities, but also of those inherent in every form of Government, the latter being the subject of which the Chinese philosopher particularly treats.

Lao-Tze's idea appears strange, but it is impossible not to agree with him if one considers what are the results from the activities of the great majority of the men of our century.

Let all men apply themselves to work, says M. Zola, and work will give them health and happiness, and will free them from the torment of the Infinite. Work, yes; but at what are we to work? Manufacturers and sellers of opium, tobacco, and brandy, every gambler on the Stock Exchange, all inventors and manufacturers of engines of destruction, all the military, all jailers and executioners,—all work, but it is evident that humanity would be the gainer if all these workers ceased their work. . . .

II

M. ZOLA'S speech is chiefly directed against certain leaders who are trying to direct the younger generation back to religious beliefs; for M. Zola, as a champion of science, looks upon himself as their opponent; but in reality such is not the case, for his reasoning is based upon the same foundation as that of his adversaries: on faith, as he himself admits. . . .

Even before reading the speech in which M. Zola holds up work, whatever kind it may be, as a kind of virtue, I had always been astonished at the strange opinion (current especially in Western Europe) in regard to work. I always felt that it was excusable only in an irrational creature, such as the ant in the fable, to elevate work to the rank of a virtue and to make a boast of it. M. Zola assures us that work makes men kind; the contrary has always been true in my experience. Without considering selfish work, which is always bad, the object of which is the well-being or aggrandizement of the worker, even "work for its own sake," the pride of the worker, renders both ants and men cruel. Which of us does not know these men, untouched by considerations of truth and kindliness, who are always so busy that they not only never have time to do good, but cannot even ask themselves whether their work is not harmful? You say to these people: "Your work is useless, perhaps even pernicious, for the following reasons; pause and consider them for a moment." They will not listen to you, but scornfully reply: "You men have leisure to reason about such matters, but what time have I for discussions? I have worked all my life and work does not wait; I have to edit a daily paper with a circulation of half a million; I have the army to organize, the Eiffel Tower to build, the Chicago Exhibition to arrange, to cut through the Isthmus of Panama, to make investigations on the subject of heredity, telepathy, or to find out the number of times such and such a word occurs in the works of such and such a classic author."

The most cruel of men, the Neros and the Peter the Greats, have been constantly active, never pausing or giving themselves a moment free from occupation or distraction.

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Even if work is not a vice, it can from no point of view be looked upon as a merit.

Work can no more be considered a virtue than can nutrition; work is a necessity of which one cannot be deprived without suffering, and to elevate it to the rank of a merit is as monstrous as it would be to do the like for nutrition. The only explanation of this strange value attributed to work in our society is that our ancestors regarded laziness as an attribute of nobility, almost of merit, and that people of our time are still somewhat influenced by the reaction from that prejudice.

Work, the exercise of our organs, cannot be meritorious, for it is simply a physical necessity of man in common with all other animals, as is shown by a tethered calf galloping round and round, or, among ourselves, by the silly exercises to which rich and well-fed people of the leisured classes betake themselves, finding no better use for their mental faculties than reading novels and newspapers, or playing chess and cards or for their muscles than gymnastics, fencing, lawn tennis, and horse-racing.

In my opinion, not only is work not a virtue, but in our defectively organized society it is more often a means of moral anæsthesia, just as are tobacco, wine, and other means of drowning thought and hiding from ourselves the disorder and emptiness of our lives; and it is precisely as such that M. Zola recommends work for young people.

III

THERE is a great difference between the letter of M. Dumas and the speech of M. Zola, without mentioning the external difference, namely, that the speech of M. Zola seems to court the approbation of the young men to whom it is addressed; whilst the letter of M. Dumas does not flatter young men, does not tell them that they are important persons and that everything depends on them (a notion which they ought never to cherish if they wish to be good for anything), but, on the contrary, points out to them their habitual faults, their presumption, and their levity. The principal difference between these two articles is that the speech of M. Zola aims at keeping men in the path they are in, by making them think that what they know is precisely what is necessary for them to know, and that what they are doing is exactly what they ought to do; whilst the letter of M. Dumas shows them that they are ignorant of the essentials of what they ought to know, and are not living as they should live.

The more men believe that they can be moved to a better state of things without effort of their own, by some external force acting of itself, whether religion or science, and that they have only to work on in the existing order,—with the more difficulty will this change be accomplished; and it is in this above all, that the speech of M. Zola errs.

On the contrary, the more men believe that it only depends on themselves to modify their relations toward one another, and that they can do so when they will, by loving one another instead of tearing one another to pieces as they now do, the more will such change become possible. The more men allow themselves to follow this suggestion, the more will they be drawn to realize the prediction of M. Dumas. And in this lies the great merit of M. Dumas's letter.

M. Dumas does not belong to any party or to any religion; he has as little faith in the superstitions of the past as in those of the present, and it is just for this reason that he observes, that he thinks, and that he sees, not only the present but also the future, in the same way as those who in ancient times were called seers. It may appear strange to those who, when reading an author's works, see only the contents of his book and not the soul of the author, that M. Dumas—who wrote "La Dame aux Camélias" and "L'Affaire Clémenceau"—that this same Dumas sees into the future and prophesies. But, however strange it may seem, prophecy, though uttered not in the desert, nor by Jordan's banks, nor from the mouth of a hermit clothed in skins of beasts, but appearing in a daily paper on the banks of the Seine,—it is none the less prophecy.

The words of M. Dumas have all the characteristics of a prophecy: first, they are entirely opposed to the general ideas of the people in the midst of whom they are uttered; secondly, all who hear them feel their truth; and thirdly, above all, it urges men to realize what it foretells.

M. Dumas predicts that men, after having tried everything, will begin seriously to apply to life the law of brotherly love, and that this change will come about sooner than one expects. The proximity of this change, even its possibility, may be disputed; but it is evident that, if it does come about, it will solve all contradictions, all difficulties, and will avert all the ills which the end of our century threatens.

The only objection, or rather the only question, that can be put to M. Dumas is: If love of our neighbor is possible to, and inherent in, human nature, why have so many thousand years passed (for the command to love God and one's neighbor is not a command of Christ, but dates back to Moses) during which men have known this means of happiness and yet have not practised it? What cause prevents the manifestation of a sentiment so natural and so beneficent to humanity?

It is evident that it is not enough to say: Love one another. That has been said for three thousand years; it has been continually repeated in all tones, from all platforms, religious and even secular, but men continue none the less to exterminate instead of love one another. In the present day no one can doubt that if men, instead of tearing one another to pieces,—each seeking his own happiness, that of his family, or that of his country,—would but help one another; if they would replace selfishness by love, and would organize their lives on the communistic instead of the individualistic principle (as the sociologists like to express it in their barbarous jargon); if they loved one another as each loves himself, if, at least, they did not do to others what they would not like done to them, as was said two thousand years ago,—the amount gained of that personal happiness which each man seeks would be greater, and human life in general would be reasonable and happy instead of being what it is now, a succession of contradictions and sufferings.

No one doubts but that if men continue to take away from one another the ownership of the land and the products of their labor, a retaliation by those who have been thus robbed must be expected, and that the oppressed will retake with violence and vengeance what they have been deprived of. Every one knows also that the preparations

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for war made by the different nations lead on to terrible massacres, to the ruin and degeneration of all the peoples who participate in this circle of armaments. No one doubts but that if the present order of things be prolonged for some dozens of years the result will be ruin, imminent and general. We have only to open our eyes to see the abyss toward which we are advancing. But it seems that Christ's prophecy is fulfilled among the men of today; they have ears to be deaf with, and eyes to be blind with, they have reason to misunderstand with.

The men of today continue to live as they have always lived, and do not leave off doing what must inevitably lead to their ruin. Moreover, the men of our Christian society acknowledge, if not the religious law of love, at least the moral obligation of the Christian principle, "not to do to others what they would not that others do to them," but they do not act upon it. Evidently some secret but overwhelming reason prevents them from doing what is to their advantage—what would save them from the dangers that menace them, and what the law of their God and their conscience alike dictate to them. Are we to conclude that love applied to life is a chimera? If so, how is it that for so many centuries men have allowed themselves to be deluded by this unrealizable dream? It must be high time to recognize its futility. But mankind can neither resolve to follow the law of love in their lives nor to give up the idea.

Why is this? What is the reason of this contradiction, enduring so many centuries; It is not because men of our day lack either the desire or the possibility to do what is dictated to them, both by their common sense and by the danger of their position, and above all, by the law of that which they speak of as God and their conscience. But it is just because they are doing what M. Zola advises them to do: they are so busy, they are all so engrossed in work commenced long ago, and it is impossible for them to pause to collect their thoughts and consider what they ought to be. All great revolutions in the life of men commence in thought. Let but a change take place in men's thoughts, and action will follow the direction of the thought as certainly as the ship follows the direction of the rudder.

IV

In the words of His first sermon Christ did not tell men to love one another (He taught this to His disciples later on), but, like John the Baptist before Him, He preached repentance ("METANOIA" in the Greek), that is to say, a change of opinion with regard to life: "METANOEITE", change your conception of life, said He, or you will all perish. The meaning of your life cannot consist in the pursuit of your personal well-being, or in that of your family or your nation, because that well-being can be attained only by detriment of that of your neighbor. Know then that the meaning of your life can lie only in fulfilling the will of Him who sent you into this life, and who demands from you, not the pursuit of your personal interests, but the accomplishment of His own purpose: the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven.

"METANOEITE", change your conception of life, or you will all perish, said He, eighteen hundred years ago; and, today, this is incessantly urged by all the contradictions and all the ills of our time, results of the fact that men have not heeded, and have not accepted the conception of life which he proposed to them. "METANOEITE", said He, or you will all perish. And the alternative is still the same. The only difference is that now it is more pressing. If, two thousand years ago, at the time of the Roman Empire, even at the time of Charles V., or even before the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, it was possible not to see the vanity, I will even say the absurdity, of attempting to insure personal happiness, the welfare of the family, the nation, or the State, by struggling against all who seek the same thing,—that illusion has now become absolutely impossible to any man who will pause in his work, be it only for a moment, and reflect upon what he is, upon the state of the world about him, and upon what he ought to be. If, then, I were asked for the most important advice I could give, that which I considered to be the most useful to the men of our century, I should simply say: In the name of God, stop a moment, cease your work, look around you, consider what you are and what you ought to be,—think of the ideal.

M. Zola says that people should not aspire, or believe in a superior power, or trouble about the ideal. Perhaps M. Zola understands by the word "ideal," either the supernatural, that is to say, the theological rubbish about the Trinity, the Church, and the Pope, etc., or *the unexplained*, as he calls the vast forces of the universe into which we are plunged. And in this case men would do well to follow M. Zola's advice. But, in reality, the ideal is neither supernatural nor unexplained. On the contrary, it is the most natural of things; I will not say it is the most thoroughly explained, but it appeals to the human mind with more certainty than anything else.

The ideal in geometry is the perfectly straight line, and the circle the radii of which are equal; in science, it is exact truths; in morals, perfect virtue. Although all these things, straight line, exact truth, and perfect virtue alike, have never existed, not only are they more natural, more known, and more *explicable* than all our other knowledge; but they are the only things we truly and certainly do know.

It is commonly said that reality is that which exists, or in other words, only that which exists is real. The contrary is, however, the case; the true reality, that which we truly know, is that which never existed. The ideal is the only thing which we know with certainty, and it has never existed. It is only thanks to the ideal that we know anything at all, and that is why the ideal alone can guide mankind in their lives, both individually and collectively. The Christian ideal has been before us for eighteen centuries; it shines in our time with such intensity that it is extremely difficult to avoid seeing that all our ills proceed from the fact that we do not accept its guidance; but the more difficult it becomes not to see this, the greater are the efforts made by some people to persuade us to do as they do, to close our eyes so as not to see it. In order to be absolutely certain to arrive safely in port, we ought, before all else, to throw overboard the compass, say they, and forge ahead. Men of our Christian society resemble people who, desiring to pull down some object which annoys them, drag at it in opposite directions, and have no time to agree as to the direction in which they ought to pull. It is only necessary that a man of our day should cease

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his activity for a moment and reflect,—comparing the demands of his reason and of his heart with the actual conditions of his life,—in order to perceive that his whole life and his every action are in incessant and outrageous contradiction to his reason and his heart. If you were to inquire separately of every civilized human being what are the most moral bases of his conduct, nearly every man would tell you that they are the Christian principles, or at any rate those of justice. In saying this men are sincere. If they acted according to their conscience, men would live as Christians; but it is only necessary to watch them to see that they live like wild beasts. So that for the great majority of men in the Christian world, the organization of their life is not the result of their way of seeing and feeling, but of certain forms which were once necessary, but which now only survive by reason of the inertia of social life.

V

If in past times,—when the evils produced by the pagan way of life were not so evident as now, and, more important still, the Christian principles were not so generally accepted,—men could consciously uphold the bondage of the workers, the oppression of man by man, penal law, and, above all, war,—it has become completely impossible at the present time to explain the *raison d'être* of all these institutions.

In order that men should change their way of living and feeling, they must first of all change their way of thinking; and in order that such a change should come about, men must stop and give their attention to what they ought to understand. To hear what those who wish to save them are shouting, men who run singing toward the precipice must cease their hubbub and stop short.

Let the people of our Christian society pause in their work and reflect for a moment on the state of their lives, and involuntarily they will be led to accept the conception of life given by Christianity; a conception so natural, so simple, and answering so completely the needs of the heart and mind of humanity, that it would arise almost spontaneously in the understanding of any one willing to liberate himself, were it but for a moment, from the entanglement in which he is held by the complications of his own work and the work of others.

For eighteen centuries the feast has been ready; but one man does not come because he has bought a piece of ground, another because he has married a wife, a third because he must go and try his oxen, a fourth because he is constructing a railway, a factory, doing missionary work, working in Parliament, in a bank, or at some scientific, artistic, or literary production. For two thousand years nobody has had the leisure to do what Jesus advised at the beginning of His ministry: to look around him, to consider the results of our work, and to ask himself: *What* am I? *For* what? Can it be that this force, which has produced me with my reason and my desire to love and be loved, has operated only in order to deceive me; so that, having imagined the aim of my life to be my personal well-being,—that my life belongs to me and that I have the right to dispose of it and the lives of other beings as I please,—I should arrive at the conviction that this personal, family, or national well-being cannot be attained; and that the more I strive to attain it, the more I should find myself in contradiction with my reason and the desire to love and be loved, and the more I should experience disillusionment and suffering? Is it not more probable that, not having come into the world spontaneously, but by the will of Him who sent me, my reason and my desire to love and be loved have been given to guide me in the accomplishment of that will?

Once that "METANOIA" has taken place in the thought of man,—a pagan and egoistic conception of life replaced by the Christian conception,—the love of one's neighbor will become more natural than strife and egoism are at present. And when once the love of one's neighbor has become natural to man, the new conditions of the Christian life will come about spontaneously, just as in a liquid saturated with salt the crystals commence to form the moment one ceases to stir it.

And in order that such a result should come about and that men should organize in conformity with their conscience, no positive effort is necessary; on the contrary, we have only to stop in the efforts we are now making. If man only employed the hundredth part of his energy, now spent entirely contrary to his conscience in material occupations, to elucidate as much as possible the data of his conscience, to express these as clearly as possible, to make them known, and above all to practise them, the change foretold by M. Dumas and by all the prophets would be accomplished much more quickly and easily than we think, and man would acquire that good which Jesus proclaimed in His good news: "Seek the Kingdom of Heaven and all other things will be added unto you."

(1893)

Popular Culture

Do We Need Hollywood?

THE present and continuing demand for "grown up," "intelligent," "realistic," "honest" or "true" motion pictures serves to intensify the anomalous situation in which this medium finds itself. In the face of the patent fact that a film can be a work of art is thrown another patent fact: there are no films being produced that are worthy of the name of art.

Yet there is an audience waiting, an audience that bears little resemblance to Hollywood's mass audience. The problem is not how to improve Hollywood (a hopeless task, and a fruitless one), but how to produce and present "adult" material for the hungry audience.

There are perhaps twenty-five or thirty "small cinemas" in the American big cities, whose managers are independent, and have succeeded in keeping open by showing films classed as "art" or "foreign." They have built and kept a faithful audience by rejecting the commercial, infantile, Hollywood features.

The specialized, literate, intellectual "small cinema" audience in America has shown no special addiction to stars

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as such (with the possible exception of Jean Gabin), has often accepted poor sound reproduction and erratic photography when the intention has been good, and has actually been delighted by tragedy. All these characteristics are positively disliked by the mass Hollywood audience, which tends to associate "the best" with the most famous stars, the smoothest technical devices, the greatest expense, and the happiest endings. The small audience doesn't care how little is spent on production, so long as the product is "adult," and so long as the director works with genuinely serious &/or witty ideas, preferably original.

The history of THE INFORMER will bear some study, for it is the favorite film of the small cinema audience. At the same time, it is a Hollywood freak.

THE INFORMER was made in a Hollywood studio, by Hollywood methods. Its cost was comparatively low: a reported $219,000. The film was released for commercial exhibition, and it began its career by attracting the smallest patronage in the whole history of the Radio City Music Hall. Throughout its tour around the mass-market movie palaces of America, results were the same: highbrow critical acclaim, coupled with spontaneous rejection by the mass audience.

Significantly, THE INFORMER made a profit. Not in the mass market, but in the small cinemas, whose audience paid it the rarest and sincerest of compliments, that of continued support in revival over a period of ten years.

It is seen at once that the production cost of THE INFORMER was far too high for even a comfortable risk. A producer who desires to make films of this stature is stopped by this fact alone: he must find a way to lower his costs, or he must attempt a compromise with the prejudices of the mass audience.

Compromise is not possible. THE INFORMER was a happy accident. Literally hundreds of other artistic projects have been nipped in the bud since the great failure of GREED twenty years ago. It makes no difference what agency stops the film: the producer himself, the censor in various states and cities, or that universal symbol of intolerance and suppression, the Hays (now Johnston) Office. Suffice it to say that the film will be stopped in the mass market. There is no way to gain "adult" ends in Hollywood, short of miracles. We are not concerned with miracles.

The other possibility, that of lower cost, has not been explored sufficiently. It involves the nature of the medium as well as the desires of the audience, and most of all, it demands the rejection of Hollywood's expensive production methods.

The first step is to eliminate professional actors, unless professionals are willing to work for ten dollars a day or less. The camera is interested in images of types, not theatrical performances. The less "acting" the better, for a film lives for the discovery of fresh, unstereotyped, "natural" reactions, in movements and gestures. The best acting in films is the result of spontaneous reactions to situations and events. The director's most important task is to put his people at ease. "His people" aren't actors; they are chosen to play the parts because they are real subjects.

The next thing is to do all shooting on location. In a realistic film, there is no chance that the actual location can be duplicated inside a studio. It is one good characteristic of the documentary films that they use natural settings, and it is one of the priceless delights of the French films that so many of their scenes take place *en plein air*. It is the good fortune of the audience if a producer is forced outside by sheer lack of funds for building sets.

Location work is difficult and expensive with bulky equipment, so it is recommended that these "adult" films be shot silent with 16mm cameras. Once more the question of the nature of the medium arises, and the primary point is that movies are visual. The sound track is of so little importance that it will not be missed if a film is inherently interesting. In any event, necessary sounds may be added later at small cost in a recording studio. Dialogue, if needed, may be supplied, so long as the lips of the characters are not shown or are indistinct. Machaty's ECSTASY is very instructive on this point. As for using the substandard film, which may be enlarged for theater projection with small loss in print quality, the advantages are numerous. Aside from far lower cost and the tremendous gain in mobility (as emphasized by James Wong Howe in THE AMERICAN CINEMATOGRAPHER for May, 1945), they provide the ultimate in concealment when scenes are to be made in public places. The cost differential in film stock is two and a half to one; in cameras and lenses it is as much as five to one.

One more advantage in location work is the elimination of most artificial lighting problems. Lights and reflectors are used primarily for glamor in the Hollywood studios, whereas realism is often hurt by them. It is another place where one of the qualities most desired by "adult" audiences is best obtained by substituting ingenuity and honesty for high theatrical expense.

The final suggestion is to make films from original and contemporary stories, preferably written by the director himself. Then there is no story cost, and there is no difficult and aesthetically dangerous adaptation from one form to another. The best results would be gained by a simple outline, or a preliminary production "sketched" with an 8mm camera. These stories ought to be contemporary, since they are to be made on location, where costumes and properties are all authentic and, best of all, free.

It is not unreasonable to believe that, with the adoption of these production methods, the cost of a feature motion picture can be brought down to a point where it is equal to or lower than the cost of a Broadway play. A full-length movie might be made for as little as $10,000.

When this is accomplished, it will be time to talk about the Art of the Film, no longer as theory, which is notoriously unstable, but as a solid result. A work of art cannot appear without artistic freedom, as demonstrated by James T. Farrell in his essay, *The Language of Hollywood*. The freedom needed desperately by the film-maker can be found only in himself. The day of princely patronage is gone. The Renaissance Prince has been replaced by Hollywood, so the true independent artist must walk out of that commercial factory and into the streets and fields, carrying with him his only tool . . . a camera.

GEORGE BARBAROW

New Roads

Discussion

Sir:

James T. Farrell has a way of dealing with ideas and individuals by bunches and truckloads, rather than one by one, which does not help us understand what he means, and is certainly not in accord with "the ABC of methodology" on which he lays such a heavy stress.

I do not know what Farrell imagines when he writes

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the word "Absolute". I can only guess that he thinks of something like God. Anyway, he is absolutely against it, that is clear enough. He is absolutely in favor of the Relative and the Empirical. So much so that the only reason he is so impatient with people who dare question the infallibility of Marx appears to be that they do not supply him, and his friends, with some "alternative explanations that are empirically verifiable". As soon as this were done, it is implied, Farrell would modestly acknowledge the new truth, and willingly give up his Marxist faith. Until then, he will remain absolutely convinced that Marxism is relatively true, the best available instrument for the production of "perspectives". To be supplied with "perspectives"—such becomes the primary requirement of man's consciousness in Farrell's "perspective". And absolutely no Absolute, of any kind.

It seems that, at this point, we are already in a considerable mess. We are asked to hold a conviction (the truth of Marxism) that goes beyond any degree of certainty which by definition we can have of it, to believe in Marxism completely (since no "alternative explanation" is there to make doubt meaningful) *and* up to a certain point (since we know that it can be wrong). As for action, we should act *as if* Marxism were true.

Such an argument, I am afraid, will leave Farrell's mind untroubled. I am also afraid that the empirio-Marxist, James T. Farrell, would dismiss with a shrug the simple question: how does he know after all that the "perspectives" manufactured with the Marxist machine-tool are any good? Once we accept the empirio-Marxist way of reasoning, are we not going to be asked to evaluate every proposed "alternative explanation" by way of the same Marxist "perspectives" that are admittedly wide open to questioning? This would amount to a methodical filibuster rather than to any known kind of "methodical thinking".

What Farrell seems to object to, most strongly, is questions. He will not admit questions. The only thing he recognizes is answers. To some people, this would appear to amount to an objection of principle raised against the normal functioning of the human mind. Had the empirio-Marxist criterion been adopted in earlier times, we would still be waiting for a comprehensive answer to the total claims of Catholic theology, and the parallel "alternative explanations".

In the empirio-Marxist version, Marxism is modestly and simply presented as the best available social theory, with no claim at all to any kind of absoluteness. But then, Farrell and the empirio-Marxists (if any) should be ready to grant, for example, that nobody should ever assert or imply that "capitalism is absolutely evil". Unmethodical thinkers and fanatics might be led to draw operational consequences of an extreme and irreparable kind from such a statement. And surely, there is no logical transition from tentative hypotheses to mass-slaughters.

In particular, Farrell himself should be willing to qualify his remarkable assertion that "human nature is deformed for the worse" by exploitation, and insist that what he really means is "that human nature is deformed for the worse up to a certain point", and that he will go as far as this, but no farther. Otherwise confusionists and absolutists will be under the impression that something really catastrophic is taking place, and might rush on to all kinds of excesses. "Misery, suffering, brutality, war, bestiality" should also be carefully qualified. Bad things must be condemned, of course, but with moderation and prudence. Especially "injustice"—so that nobody may be allowed to come around with nonsensical talk about Justice.

All this, I am afraid, is nothing but quibbling, in the eyes of Farrell. Shall I then try to explain, as I see it, the difference that exists between being convinced that something is wrong and something else is right, and asserting that there is somewhere an Absolute Object (divine, methodological, social, or other) whose consent everybody has to obtain who wants to be admitted among the Right People? Shall I venture to say that, in the first case, the absolute has one specific and elementary sense: that the right cannot be made wrong, or the wrong right, except by intellectual trickery and violence? Shall I add that this has consequences, and that the consequences do not wear the roller-skates of formal logic—that a man who attempts to be faithful to an experience of ethical and intellectual choice is immediately up against contradictions? And if there is one thing that is certain, it is that such contradictions as arise in a real ethical struggle cannot be solved to the satisfaction of the "objective" spectator and the Philistine, who ask for a perfect performance and comprehensive practical proposals.

All this, of course, will not be taken seriously by Farrell.

Shall I try to state the problem in a different fashion?

There is one strong point in Marxism, which is also the essential point of every Socialist position. It is the assertion that no philosophy is consistent, and no moral position strong, which does not face the real questions as they arise in the concrete reality of the social condition of man, with all the difficulties, contradictions, and even absurdities, implied in such an attempt.

It is an ethical point, and it is completely obliterated, together with the social problem itself, whenever it is transformed into something else, whenever any real question, be it the question of bread or the question of philosophy, is dismissed, "gone beyond", "solved", or reduced to some other question which is supposed to be "the real question". The problem, in fact, is the problem of doing justice to human reality, and not of juggling it away in some metaphysical or "operational" machinery.

Marx reduced this problem to one of efficient exploitation of historical forces. It is one way of obliterating the resistance that the living texture of society opposes to the simplifications of the mind. It is brutal, but not without greatness.

As for the empirio-Marxist, James T. Farrell, he simply rolls on. The way he rolls on is best exemplified by the humorless caricature he draws when he gets involved in the attempt to describe the meaning of Tolstoi's moral ideas. But his recapitulation of the Marxist solution is also remarkable: the moral problem is the social problem; the social problem becomes the political problem; the political problem is the problem of power; and "to say that power is evil is like saying that life is evil". Any questions?

Yes, there are a few questions. The first one concerns empirio-Marxism itself, and the obvious fact that no significant Marxist, not Marx, not Engels, not Lenin, not Trotzky, not Rosa Luxembourg, not even Karl Kautsky, ever conceived Marxism the way Farrell does. It is admirable that a sect which twice in its history, in 1872 and in 1917, raised a most official claim to infallibility should all of a sudden have become so meek as to ask for empirical proofs of its wrongs. Admirable. But the event is somewhat unclear. The skeleton still is in the closet. I mean, the "operational" consequences of the doctrine: intellectual and political intolerance, the "two moralities", dictatorship, organized violence, etc. It would be interesting to know if an empirio-Marxist should consider himself committed to such consequences today, *Anno Domini* 1946. As for the more or less ardent Marxists I know, they don't answer "yes", any longer. But neither do they say "no". This is not candid.

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The empirio-Marxist, James T. Farrell, asks us to deal with Marxism as if it were true, until something better is found. On empirical grounds, it can't be done. It can't be done, because the ideological machine to which James Farrell still professes allegiance has been in question at least since the day, October 25, 1917, when the ideology was first put to the test of historical vicissitudes. Since then, it has ceased to give unequivocal answers. For a theory that claimed to offer a comprehensive view of human life, and which staked everything on the test of history, this is quite sufficient, in the way of disproof. To the questions raised by the tragedy of the last thirty years, I mean the real, "empirical", human questions, this awesome doctrine has given no other answer except the more or less clumsy re-adaptation of its century-old formulas. What has happened to history, that it does not heed any longer the call of this boldest of all social doctrines, one whose clearest claim used to be that it could give man a hold on real history, and more especially on future history? Shall we say that this doctrine seems to have the peculiarity of being able to give irrefutable theoretical answers, and massive assurances, only when it is supported by powerful bureaucracies and victorious armies?

Certainly, anybody who chooses to can take the present onward march of the Communist parties in Europe as an empirical proof of the vitality of Marxism. James T. Farrell won't. Hence he is out in the cold.

He is not alone. Some two billion human beings are there with him, including moralists, absolutists, utopians, all of us. And no "perspective". Nothing but a somewhat blind, and not directly helpful, faith in human consciousness; and some memories which we would not like to betray.

This is all I would ask James T. Farrell to acknowledge, so that communication be possible, instead of lecturing.

NEW YORK CITY NICOLA CHIAROMONTE

Sir:

If the reader will compare my letter with Nicola Chiaromonte's rejoinder, he can perceive, readily, that Chiaromonte does not answer me. Thus, Chiaromonte confirms my point that people like himself, contributing to POLITICS, *cannot be taken seriously. His rejoinder is devious and Jesuitical: he tries to win debating points, and in this effort he does not meet the real issues. Thus, he does not deal with my distinction between social morality and individual morality. It is patent to any reader of this magazine that a number of its contributors have written articles based on an affirmation of some conception of Absolute Justice. This being the case, why then does he hedge on this question? Why does he try to make me out as the Absolutist? Is it that he doesn't know any better? Might it be possible that he does not even know the difference between logical analysis and Absolutism?*

The real issue involved in Chiaromonte's difference with me is Stalinism. Is or is not Stalinism a necessary consequence of Marxism? If Chiaromonte will deal with this issue in a forthright manner, then, we might have an issue worth discussing. But it is pointless to go on discussing with him, if he keeps writing in the spirit of this rejoinder. He doesn't seem to know whether he is a relativist or an Absolutist, and he throws platitudes in one's face. He wants me to acknowledge faith in human consciousness. He seems to think that if I will make such an acknowledgment, he will have won a victory in a debate. But what is the point of this? Can't he really sit down and write a serious presentation of his views, one which will permit others to know what he is talking about? Or is this his best? Parts of his letter are scarcely above the level that we would expect from a gifted high school student.

Chiaromonte says that my paraphrase of the moral ideas of Tolstoy are merely "a humorless caricature." What has this to do with humor? And how did I caricature Tolstoy?

Chiaromonte appeals to the sympathy of his readers, not to their intelligence. He associates himself with two billion blind and perplexed human beings, and would have us believe that Marxism is not sympathetic to these suffering billions. This illustrates precisely what I meant when I wrote that the morality preached in POLITICS *was developing into moral priggishness. Also, this shows that he argues and debates by trading on human misery.*

Mr. Editor, don't you feel a little embarrassed when you print letters such as his, putting down in black and white views which Marxism cannot answer? Frankly, could you honestly say that either you or Chiaromonte knew what the two of you are talking about in POLITICS?

NEW YORK CITY JAMES T. FARRELL

—Since I am asked, may I say that I do not feel even a little embarrassed when I print letters "putting down in black and white views which Marxism cannot answer." But I *am* embarrassed by the personal abuse which Farrell substitutes for argument, his tedious reduction of the whole issue between us to the question of whether Chiaromonte and myself are fools. It is impossible to discuss anything serious on this level.—D.M.

COMPASS

is not a picture book for the kiddies—though it goes in freely for illustrations.

is not an opiate—though it hopes to be of value to "the masses".

is not, in short, ivory tower stuff.

COMPASS

is a magazine of direction towards creative living in a peaceful world—published by cooperation among some of the conscientious objectors still in American style concentration camps and some who have "deserted" these camps.

COMPASS

points, in its Spring, 1946, double issue (40¢) away from conscription and continuation of the draft, presents positive programs for International and Economic Security, Health and Education—and contains, among many others, articles on A Cooperative (Socialist) Commonwealth and A Critique of Blueprinting.

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The COMPASS

Cascade Locks, Oregon

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Fourth Report on Packages Abroad

IT is now seven months since we printed on the cover of the October, 1945, issue an appeal to our readers to undertake to send food and clothing packages to European families with whom we were in contact. The response was immediate and enthusiastic, and the scope of the project has become steadily wider.

For months now, the bulk of our mail has been for the package project; New York City readers have been bringing in their old shoes and clothes to the office at such a rate that the place looks more like a haberdashery than an editorial office. Ever since the project began, one of our business managers, Nancy Macdonald, has been devoting her full time (and a bit more) to the project. For the past two months, Bertha Gruner has been working full-time with her. Sometimes it seems that POLITICS is a house organ for the package project rather than a magazine on its own. Some people will say this is just as well. . . .

The reason the package project takes as many man-hours (or woman-hours) to run as the magazine itself is partly expanding scope. As of May 1, slightly over 1,000 American families or individuals were sending or financing regular packages to 800 European families. Total cash receipts by then (all used for food, clothes and postage) were $7,109.58. At least 4,000 packages have been sent. About 1,000 of these were sent out from here, using the cash donations (which are mostly payments of monthly pledges running from $5 to $80) to send standard packages through several commercial agencies whose prices are reasonable and which we know to be trustworthy. Since CARE packages have been available, we have to some extent shifted to them, since they provide more food for the money than could possibly be obtained elsewhere. The remaining 3,000 packages have been sent by individuals taking part in the project; this is a minimum figure, based on cards mailed in to us by the senders; undoubtedly other packages have been sent without our being notified.

But the main reason the project takes so much time is that its essence is to treat each family on an individual basis. We are constantly getting new names of European families both from emigrés over here and (mostly) from trustworthy people abroad with whom we are in correspondence. Each new name is assigned to one or more American senders on the basis of clothing sizes, children, common interests, and whatever other information we may have about the parties on each end of the relationship. Letters of inquiry from both senders and receivers are answered as fully and individually as possible. (We get as many as 50 letters from Europe some weeks; so many that the local post office probably assumes that letters from France belong here, as when the other day a letter was—correctly—delivered to our office which bore the enigmatic address: "Senor Dom D. Wig, 115 Astor Place, N. Y. 3.") The job of giving such "personal service" to almost a thousand individuals on each end is a great one; it has only been accomplished, and by no means as perfectly as we should all have liked, by the devoted and efficient work of Bertha and Nancy. The whole "point" of the project is not simply to send desperately needed supplies abroad; but also to make contact between individuals on both sides of the Atlantic, so that they enter into direct relationship as people and not as contributors to or beneficiaries of some impersonal charitable organization. The letters printed later on in this report suggest the deep psychological satisfaction both parties get out of this relationship. The constant note of the letters we get from Europe is that the feeling of fraternity and solidarity with Americans is just as important to those over there as the packages themselves, essential as these are. We Americans get the satisfaction, so rare in this period of gigantic impersonal institutions which grind on to lunatic and uncontrollable ends, of at least being able to do *something*, to perform some act which is related to spontaneous feelings.

Personally, I consider that the chance to carry out this project alone has made it worth all the effort of putting out POLITICS.

Notes on Package Senders

It may be of interest to put down here a few facts about the various—extremely various, indeed—ways people are helping in the project. This may give something of the "feel" of the thing—and also, perhaps, suggest to others how they can help.

A reader writes in from Washington, D. C.: "In your February issue, I read a letter from the wife of a classical professor in France telling of the loss of their library. My husband was a Greek professor and left a number of books in Greek and Latin. . . . I would like to mail her some of them. . . ."

A nurse in a San Francisco hospital sends in 100 sample bottles of a vitamin preparation.

Our Conscientious Objector readers have been especially helpful. CO's at CPS No. 46 in Big Flats, N. Y., staged a poster parade in Elmira, N. Y., recently, during which they distributed copies of "Shall Europe Starve?" and gave out to passers-by a dozen packing-boxes already addressed to European families. . . . CO's at the Glendora, Calif., camp have to date sent over 70 packages. They are currently on a protest strike, and plan to use their leisure to mail out a lot more.

A group has been formed in Johannesburg, South Africa, of the most variegated political tendencies but united on sending parcels to European families. They have taken on 25 of our names.

Twenty names have been taken on by the Seattle Committee to Promote Overseas Relief, 1217 Sixth Ave., Seattle 1, Wash. Another ten are being cared for by the Portland Committee on Overseas Relief, 609 Stock Exchange Building, Portland 4, Ore.

A libertarian group in San Francisco put on a party last month that raised $97 for the package fund.

The Rev. Hugh Ghormley, of Des Moines, Iowa, a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, has just asked for 100 names, made an appeal in his church, and already given out 30 of them to his parishioners.

A reader in Salt Lake City, Utah, who has been himself sending five or six packages a month, recently wired us: RUSH ME NAMES OF ONE HUNDRED EUROPEAN FAMILIES. HAVE OPENED DRIVE IN SALT LAKE CITY WITH BACKING OF TRIBUNE. EXCELLENT RESPONSE.

A students' committee has been formed in Brooklyn College to get students to send packages to Europeans. It is

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on a broad basis, drawing names from a half dozen organizations including the War Resisters' League (which has a project like ours) and the International Solidarity Committee. We are supplying 50 names. . . . A student reader of POLITICS in the University of California at Los Angeles is working to get some thirty names of students and young people on our list taken care of by his classmates. He writes he is handicapped by "the reputation of POLITICS, which is communist to the liberals, and Trotskyist to the communists." . . . Other student groups sending out packages exist at Cornell, Black Mountain, and the Texas State College for Women.

The outstanding "success story," however, is that of none of these groups, but of a single person, Mr. H. R. Sturm, of New Philadelphia, Ohio. Mr. Sturm is the superintendent of the Central School there. His remarkable achievement in getting the people of his community into action on the project is worth describing in detail as an instance of what one person, if he really *wants* to, can accomplish. This report is already too long to do more here than thank Mr. Sturm most warmly for his help. Next month we will tell the story.

The best way to show what the project means to those taking part in it is to print below a few of the more recent letters we have received from them.

I. *From Americans*

This is to notify you that I am sending the twenty-second box today to Maurice C. in Paris. The boxes have been reaching him regularly and so far as we can ascertain none have been lost and none have been tampered with. I have had five letters from him. They express the utmost appreciation for the packages and say that they have been able to help their friends with what they cannot use. . . . From what you know about the food situation in Paris, would you advise my continuing the boxes each week through the summer?

I have enjoyed sending the boxes—especially on account of the relief the activity gives one when contemplating the horrors of the mass starvation which is going on.

MRS. C.B.H., CARYDON,INDIANA

(NOTE by D.M.: The question Mrs. C.B.H. asks must be now occurring to many senders. The answer, unfortunately, seems to be that packages WILL be needed very much this summer and also—barring a much better harvest than is now expected—next winter.)

I should like a family in France, as I am able to read and write French, rather badly. If the family had small girls, so much the better.

I am a newspaper reporter, and have three girls, who would be fascinated with knowing French children and perhaps helping in some way. We do so much talking and writing about cutting down on our meals so that the hungry in war-torn lands may help. Somehow the talking and writing doesn't satisfy us. We'd like to do something tangible, to help a little. May I hear from you soon? We're all a bit excited about getting started making friends with a French family.

MRS. R.D.L., SAULT STE. MARIE, MICHIGAN

Thanks for S's address. I'll get a package off to him very soon. . . . On my way to Denver, I saw N.C., who is most enthusiastic about the package project. You had given him the name of a woman in Paris, who works for a publisher. She and N. have established what appears to be a mutually entrancing correspondence, with dozens of letters already exchanged. N. sends her wonderful packages, full of necessities and luxuries. She sends him French books and magazines which N. reads avidly and shows to guests with the greatest pride.

H.W., DENVER, COLORADO

The pupils and I were delighted to receive a letter from the S. family, one page of which was written in French and one page in German. Imagine our surprise to discover that the French page had been written by Elsa Schuler, the mother; and furthermore to be informed that a baby brother had been *ordered* for the end of May (all this when we were under the impression that it was a motherless family).

The fact that in all their sufferings and want, the S's have the courage and faith to look to the future proves to us that they are worthy of all the help we can send to them. We are sure that they will share with others if they have more than they need. Therefore, we DO NOT care to send to another family.

L.S., NEW PHILADELPHIA, OHIO

P.S. The one box this week is a "baby special" consisting of outing flannel, flaxon, chambray, odd bits of laces, braid, ribbons and floss that we had on hand. It also contains two infant shirts, booties and blanket, and a lovely pink quilted robe for the mother.

(NOTE by D.M.: We have a special "Mothers and Babies" list, now containing about 25 names, to each of whom we send a monthly package containing powdered milk, egg powder, sugar, butter, chocolate, cereal, and [*every other month*] *vitamins C and D.)*

Our family wants to help feed a European family. We have two boys, aged 3½ years and 6 months, and would like the address of a European family with children about the same age. We would like our children to grow up knowing children in a European family.

V.G., FARMINGTON, MICHIGAN

I got a letter from "my family" which is (translated) as follows:

"Yesterday was a day of jubilance for us because we received the first two packages together—only a month and a few days after they were sent. They came in perfect condition, with nothing missing. All the contents are of much use to us, and you can't imagine the luxury and use we get out of toilet soap, which we haven't been able to find since before the war. Unhappily we have not towels, so must use rags. . . . In our next letter I will enclose a picture of all ten of us. Please tell me if it is easy for you to have Spanish translated. Upon this will depend whether I make my letters longer or shorter, as I don't want to give you any added trouble."

I guess you never do get used to letters like this, they are so warm and human. My friend, Mrs. K.M., who, with me, sends a package once a week, got a letter from *her* family last week, and they too have begun to receive packages. Naturally, when you get letters like this, you want to send a package every day—instead of just once a week. . . . I do want you to know that I have great appreciation for the work you have done to get some of us more lethargic souls energized into doing something. . . . Most people are so kind about bringing Mrs. M. and myself food and old clothes at the office (we work at a picture studio). . . . Anyhow, I thought you'd be interested to know that contact has been established between Los Angles and Montauban.

E.S., LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

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I have at last got off my three boxes, and what an education I got before I at last got each label and card and sticker filled out! I first sent the packages up with my husband at noon last Saturday; he returned waving a batch of slips, cards, etc.; he looked like he'd had the riot act read to him. Our post office closes at one on Saturday, so on Monday I went up but without too much success, it seems as though every one and their uncle were mailing that day and so many interruptions. I finally got one set filled out—took it home and used it as a model for the rest—took them up yesterday and I hope they are on their way. . . . You will notice that I sent bean coffee as directed on Instruction Sheet but I am wondering how they manage if they haven't a grinder. *(EDITOR'S NOTE: We are informed that the ratio of coffee grinders to families in France is approximately 100%.)*

My husband is maintenance man at a local movie theatre, so you can understand how I felt after I'd got all the provisions for the three boxes. I felt perhaps I'd taken on too much, but where there's a will there's a way and I went up to see Mr. C.N., the head of the Grocers' Association and asked him if at the next meeting they would take the matter up and see if any of the members would donate food and quite a few have agreed to send a contribution to N's store and I'll pick it up from there and pack and mail 'em out—isn't that just wonderful? . . . I wrote to each of "my families" and asked them to write me. I hope they do and I can send their letters up to the next grocers' meeting. . . .

The corporation my husband works for also owns three other theatres in town, and I have asked them to save me all uncalled-for clothing in the Lost and Found Dept. So I am getting quite a collection of boys' hats, caps, mittens, gloves, scarves, etc. I went up to see Mr. S. and he cleaned them without charge for me. . . . I think it would be very nice if you could write to Mr. C.N. and thank the members who are donating. I feel credit should be given where it is due. Also Mr. S.

MRS. C.E.W., PITTSFIELD, MASS.

II. *From Europeans*

NOTE BY D.M.: *An emigré friend of ours told us about the way the "Service des Etrangeres" of the police department of a French provincial city protected Jewish refugees from the Gestapo during the German occupation. The cops, who were almost 100% Socialist Party members, managed to lose the dossiers on most of the Jewish aliens registered with them. If by chance the Germans found the address of a refugee in the disgracefully confused files (which they probably saw as one more instance of the inefficiency of the French), a cop would be dispatched to warn the family before the Gestapo arrived. Our informant suggested we violate every tradition of radical behavior by sending some packages to the local gendarmes. This we were delighted to do. The Inspector in Charge wrote us on March 7:*

Referring to your letter of January 2, I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your first package, arrived today in good condition, and I beg you to accept my warmest thanks in my name and that of my little family.

It is with pleasure that I learn that several antifascist refugees have kindly memories of their stay in our city during the German occupation. I hardly presume to ask you for regular packages, but you may be assured that whatever you may send will give us the greatest pleasure.

Please accept, Sir, the expression of my cordial and devoted sentiments,

XXX,
Inspecteur s/Chef

From the editor of a socialist magazine:

Thanks for the wonderful packages that I have been receiving from you via Plum, Ltd., of Copenhagen. Sausage, bacon, butter, cheese and ham! It's superb, and of the best quality—I don't know how to thank you.

I'm sending you my magazine. It is on a modest scale, nor does it wholly satisfy me from a political standpoint; but I hope it will get better as it goes along. . . . I agree with your estimate of Soviet Russia, which is indeed the worst imperialism existing today. One asks one's self what the difference is between Stalin and Hitler. Their methods are the same, and the contacts I have had with Russian war-prisoners showed them to be backward and without the slightest notion of internationalism. Even when they called themselves "communist," their nationalism showed through.

Thanks, also, for various packages sent me by your readers. My American correspondents seem to be delightful people.

PARIS, April 14.

From the widow of a Dutch Trotskyist leader (written in English):

Dear Friends:

I was very happy with your two packets, one from America, one from Denmark. Butter, sugar, and bacon are luxurious articles in Holland, and only distributed to a small extent. Your packages were very welcome!

My comrades are all very good for me since I came back from Ravensbruck concentration camp. The help of official authorities, however, is a shame. I asked for clothes and shoes in September, 1945, but up to now I have not received anything. Only the evacuees from Indonesia, mostly bourgeois, are helped.

As you know, ten comrades, amongst them my husband, were shot by the Nazis. Happily, we have found their bodies in the neighborhood of the concentration-camp Amersfoot and now they are cremated together. We try to gather the funds for a common grave for the ashes, which will give evidence of the soundness with which they served the principles of revolutionary socialism in Holland.

AMSTERDAM, March 25.

P.S. Just this afternoon I received the third packet. Thank you very much!

From a Polish woman, at present editor of a French trade-union paper:

..... Thank you so much for all you have done for Mme. X in Poland. May I say also, speaking for all my friends whom your readers are helping, that we are all very much moved by the delightful initiative, and the delicate sensibility, you have shown in putting Americans into direct contact with people over here? For, as you doubtless know, despite the general enthusiasm for the American Army which burst out in France at the instant of liberation, there were many misunderstandings on both sides. . . . But I think war creates many bad instincts in people and also that men in uniform are very different from what they are like in civil life.

Nowadays, whenever we meet, my friends and I, we read our "American letters," we discuss them. We think with real feeling about our American friends, and try to imagine their life. A life so different from ours! And yet I believe that even though the concept of material Progress separates us (there is much talk about your Progress in our press), American and French culture come close to each other on the moral and intellectual plane.

A great friend of mine, Dr. V., is now corresponding

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regularly, thanks to POLITICS, with your American literary man, Mr. K. I know how much pleasure this gives to Dr. V. A teacher who reads your magazine has written several times to Mme. S., a young widow who continues to hope that her husband will return from Germany, whither he was deported in 1941 (a vain hope, alas!). And Mme. D., widow of our comrade, the fine, the generous Amedee D., who died after being deported to Germany—she, too, gets regular letters and packages from your readers.

Your packages reach me, too. They are, in addition to the letters, a source of joy: first of all, a surprise package that one opens with the curiosity of a child; then, real gratitude. For, without pitying ourselves too much, we are living through a real period of misery. . . .

Perhaps you could help a friend of mine, a French girl who married an Italian and lived from 1938 till the war in Rome. She used to be a Trotskyist, is very sensitive and intelligent, has a little girl of 8 and two boys of 6 and 4. This family, once comfortably off, now lives in a very precarious way. . . .

You ask what I need. There *is* one thing—a short skirt ("jupe ecossaire"). I get around Paris mostly by bicycle, and yard goods are simply not in the budget of a young journalist!

And now, dear friend, it is my turn to ask what souvenir of Paris would please you. Books? Perfume? Or something else? I wait impatiently for your reply.

I live with my mother, in an old house in the Latin Quarter, just behind the Pantheon. Tourists find our house very picturesque. On one side is the church of St. Etienne-du-Mont, whose bells strike the hours. Our neighbors are working people. As it is now fine weather, windows are usually open and we overhear our neighbors' long chats with the concierge. This latter is a splendid woman from Normandy. She behaved well during the occupation ("a eté tres chic"), hiding Jews and helping us to hide several "wanted" men in our apartment. In the early morning, we hear the birds singing on the rooftops. That must surely seem strange to you. But our neighborhood—it's the oldest in Paris—is more like a village than a capital city; there's nothing at all, hereabouts, like the Place de l'Opera or the Champs Elysées. It is humble, but not at all squalid—a corner of the city that contains a page of the history of Paris. And I love its narrow streets, culminating in the "montagne St. Genevieve," its little squares with ancient names, its houses grey with age. . . . Do you know Paris, *dear Madame? If not, you really must come visit us and* savor its charm. I'm not the first, believe me, to feel this!

PARIS, April 5.

From a Spanish POUMist Republican:

I received your fine letter, and also one from Mr. D., in California, saying he is sending me packages. Here in X, just over the border from Spain, there are many of us Spanish refugees. There is an enormous activity among us to aid the anti-Franco resistance inside our country. We veterans of the Civil War are hungry, we go poorly clad, but we are very resourceful and all of us live only to help our brothers inside Spain. From here every week the "contact-men" come and go between us and the Spanish underground.

SOMEWHERE-IN-FRANCE, March 3.

THERE'LL ALWAYS BE AN ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY

The Duke of Hamilton, premier peer of Scotland, who arrived here today by plane, refused to discuss the flight of Rudolph Hess from Germany to the Hamilton estate in 1941.

"That's old hat," he said of the incident.

—"N.Y. Times", March 18.

THE PICTURE ON THE COVER

. . . . was sent to us recently by the head of a school for refugee children in France to which our readers have been sending packages. Dr. Ernst Jouhy-Jablonski, director of the school, made the following notation in English on the back:

"The boy who produced this drawing is now 13 years old. He comes from a concentration camp in Silesia where he was put when he was 11, deported with his parents from Poland. His parents were murdered in the camp. He himself was led one day with 150 children like him to be shot. The bullets hit him in the left arm. He fell down, and with the blood of his arm he colored his face and remained among the 149 dead children, the only survivor. He escaped in the darkness.

"The drawing represents the execution.

"The boy is now learning French and normal life. The miracle is that after all that he has undergone, he is recovering in body and mind. He already speaks French but does not yet write it correctly."

Dr. Jouhy-Jablonski's school is the **Centre Pedagogique, Place de la Mairie, Fontenay aux Roses, Seine, France.** There are 40 children there, from 6 to 13 years old; most are Jewish and most have lost both parents. They are taught by 20 students who are learning to be teachers and who all took part in the underground during the war. Dr. Jouhy-Jablonski writes us that, beside food and clothing, the school needs especially drawing paper, water colors, erasers, crayons, and scientific material (chemistry set, small electrical set, optical set, etc.).

Readers who have children's clothes or toys or other useful things which they want to send abroad should also be advised of the following three addresses:

1. Prof. Roberto Menasci, R. Provedditore agli Studi, Livorno, Italy. Food and clothes needed urgently for grade school children, many of whom have lost their parents and all of whom are undernourished and ragged. Dr. Menasci is Superintendent of Schools in Livorno and will personally distribute anything sent.

2. Marguerite Menant, 16 Avenue du Parc, Vanves, Seine, France. Works in a creche for small children; asks especially for toys and clothing.

3. Federation des Deportes and Internes du 17 Dept., Andre Augeray, Secy., 11 Rue Montchanin, Paris 17, France. They care for children of Displaced Persons who have no other means of support. Clothing urgently needed.

The Intelligence Office

WHITEWASHING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH—AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS WITH THE N. Y. TIMES

To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

In your April 10 issue, the editor of the Catholic weekly, *America*, Father John LaFarge, objects to an earlier letter in your columns from Rev. Robert W. Searle which criticised the Franco regime in Spain and the Catholic Church "for the supposed persecution of Protestants as Protestants."

Father LaFarge asks why, if this charge had any foundation, your correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, had not mentioned the matter in his recent letters from Spain to the *Times*. For, as he points out accurately, Mr. Sulzberger "had no hesitation about being critical."

Permit me to bring to Father LaFarge's attention, and to that of your readers, one of Mr. Sulzberger's letters from Spain which, for some reason, was not printed in the *Times*, but which appeared in the February 24 issue of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*. The relevant passages are:

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"MADRID, Feb. 23: Freedoms of press, conscience, worship, assembly and instruction are described as 'pernicious' and liberalism is categorized as a sin in the newest church catechism just printed in Spain. It is not only widely circulated by the Roman Catholic Church, but is required reading in all State elementary schools. . . . Among the principal errors most damaging to Catholic souls, Nazism is not listed, although one does find the following included: Liberalism, Materialism, Darwinism, Atheism, Pantheism, Deism, Rationalism, Protestantism, Socialism, Communism, Syndicalism, Modernism and Freemasonry. . . .

"The catechism informs children that a state cannot be a lay state but must 'profess the Catholic religion.'

"Because of this view, Liberalism is assailed firstly since it is said to teach 'that a State is independent of the Church." Furthermore, liberalism is attacked for defending 'liberty of conscience, liberty of worship and a free press.'"

It is not necessary to labor the point that persecution of Protestants follows directly and logically from the ideology expressed in this treatise, which is officially sponsored by both the Franco regime and the Catholic Church.

Mr. Sulzberger's dispatch is headed: "By Wireless to the *N. Y. Times* and the *Courier-Journal*." Why was it not printed by his own newspaper?

Sincerely,

DWIGHT MACDONALD

April 19, 1946

Dear Sir:

Your letter of April 17 has been referred to me for reply.

You say that an article sent by our correspondent, Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, was printed in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and not in *The New York Times*. That is correct.

This paper receives a million words a day and can print only 100,000. This article was not selected for publication largely because we had just printed a three-column article from Mr. Sulzberger on conditions in Spain. By an office error, our Syndicate was not notified we were not using the article and that is how it got to the *Courier-Journal* and other papers.

Very truly yours,

EDWIN L. JAMES
Managing Editor, N. Y. Times.

April 22, 1946.

Dear Mr. James:

Thanks for your letter of April 19, explaining why the *Times* didn't print that dispatch of Sulzberger's. But my letter was written for publication. Would it not be well to print it, so that your readers will not get the impression that the *Times* correspondent supports Father LaFarge's erroneous notion that there is no persecution of Protestants in Spain?

The point involved is not why the *Times* failed to print the Sulzberger dispatch, but rather whether the *Times* is willing to let a Catholic apologist draw false inferences from the *Times*' own dispatches. I therefore request you print my letter.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT MACDONALD

NOTE: *As of May 15, no reply has come, nor has the "Times" printed my letter. Moscow papers please copy.*

D. M.

REPLY TO HELEN CONSTAS

Sir:

In my analysis of "A Critique of Marxian Ideology", I discussed historical tendencies of development. No theory or outline of historical tendencies can ever be all embracing. Incidental and accidental deviations are inevitable and represent the exceptions that prove the rule.

I never claimed, despite Helen Constas' assertion, that the level of productivity is the *only* origin of classes. I said that the increase in productivity creates the objective necessary conditions for the creation and establishment of classes. The origin of class society is a highly complex historical process.

I confess that I haven't any particular taste for historical speculation on "what might have been". To know the precise answer to "what was" should be regarded as quite an achievement considering the present stage of historical science.

Helen Constas' conception of the problem of scarcity and abundance is surprising. No one conceives socialism as a social form whose sole purpose is to increase our innumerable needs. Such a conception would mean an extreme vulgarization of the very idea of socialism. In that case, Helen Constas' statement that "class form can succeed class form for there is no end to the historical needs of men", would have been correct. The purpose of high productivity under socialism, however, is to release the tremendous energies contained in our modern technology and to free them from the chains of an obsolete economy. Scarcity and abundance, in our time, is not a quantitative problem, but a qualitative one. Scarcity and abundance is a highly complicated technological and socio-economic problem. It is connected with planning in the sense of substituting a new economic regulator for the present economic regulator which is based on the principle of market relationships.

I never did say that abundance means an abundance of material objects to satisfy our needs and therefore it was hardly necessary for Helen Constas to dwell at great length upon such an obvious and elementary fact as the distinction between biological and historical needs. Of course, we are human beings and not animals. Of course, we have higher values and do not strive for more goods merely for the better satisfaction of biological needs. But a higher technological development and a higher level of productivity is essential for the solution of the basic social economic problems of our time. No ethical and well-meaning phraseology alone can solve these problems.

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politicking

In our March issue, it was incorrectly stated that M. N. Roy's new quarterly, *The Marxian Way*, was published in Bombay. The correct and full address is: Renaissance Publishers, 15 Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta, India. Subscription is 10 Rupees a year. Incidentally, if the level of the first issue—the only one I've seen—is being sustained, this is a magazine well worth following. It is in English.

Sorry not to have finished the second instalment of "The Root Is Man" in time for this issue. It didn't come right in time, and it's not the kind of thing that should be hurried. It will be in the next issue, which will also contain three Marxian critiques of the "New Roads" series by David T. Bazelon, Sebastian Franck and Frank Marquart.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE: "*A.B.C.*" is an Italian political journalist now living in Paris. . . . *Morroe Berger*, recently discharged from the Army, has resumed graduate work in sociology at Columbia. He has written for, among others, "Common Sense", "The Voice of India" and "The New Leader." . . . *Ethel Goldwater*, who has contributed book reviews to POLITICS, is married, has two small children, lives in New York City. . . . *A. Dwight Culler* writes: "For the past three years, I have been interned in a C.P.S. camp for conscientious objectors. Previous to that, I took my Ph. D. in English literature at Yale and taught for one year at Cornell." . . . *Karl Korsch* is well-known as a Marxist scholar and theoretician. He now lives in Boston. His "Karl Marx", in the Modern Sociologists series, was published by Wiley over here in 1938. His other books have not been translated. . . . *George Woodcock*, poet, journalist and editor of the English anarchist quarterly, "Now", sends us a London Letter every other month. . . . *Julian Ash* got his impressions of Germany from a recent trip there as a merchant seaman. . . . *George Barbarow* was graduated from Amherst in 1936. He is a C.O., has been in various CPS camps for the past three years. His article, "Movies in Limbo", appeared in "Theatre Arts Monthly" for last December. "I am not a religious objector," he writes. "'Romantic individualist' is more accurate. . . . At the moment, I favor 100% silent movies."

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Our packages-to-Europe got some good publicity in last Sunday's *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* (May 12). An article by Judith Klein on "family adoption services" mentioned ours and the *Call's* as "two of the largest", and devoted much space to each of them. This was on the Woman's Page, whose editor, Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, has been devoting much attention to the European food situation.

Two coming articles of special interest:

(1) "What Is Orthodox Marxism?" by George Lukacs. A chapter from his book, published in the twenties: *History and Class Consciousness*. So far as I know, this will be the first time any part of this book, which is said to be one of the few original contributions to Marxist theory since Luxemburg, has been translated into English.

(2) "A Discussion with Lenin in Stalin's Prison", by Anton Ciliga. This came in recently, with a note from Ciliga: "I'm here in Paris for a few weeks, and I have found among my papers a basic article on the role of Lenin in the Russian revolution. I think it may interest you . . . and serve to initiate my collaboration with POLITICS. It is the original version of Chapter 9 of my book, *The Russian Enigma*." From friends of Ciliga over here, I learn that the MS, which is in Russian, deals with the relationship of Leninism to Stalinism, and that the French publisher of Ciliga's book omitted practically all of it on the grounds that the discussion was too "specialized" to be of interest to the general public. It seems likely, therefore, it will be of considerable interest to POLITICS readers.

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